

Open Research Online

The Open University's repository of research publications and other research outputs

Thomas Hardy and Empire: Colonisers and the Colonised in the Works of Thomas Hardy

Thesis

How to cite:

Bownas, Jane Lesley (2010). Thomas Hardy and Empire: Colonisers and the Colonised in the Works of Thomas Hardy. PhD thesis The Open University.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 2010 The Author



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000ed43>

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's data [policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

oro.open.ac.uk

**Thomas Hardy and Empire: Colonisers and the Colonised in the
Works of Thomas Hardy**

Jane Lesley Bownas

BSc(Hons), BA(Hons), MSc, MA

Doctor of Philosophy

English

March, 2010

DATE OF SUBMISSION : 22 MAR 2010

DATE OF AWARD : 6 SEPT^T 2010

Thesis Title: 'Thomas Hardy and Empire: Colonisers and the Colonised in the Works of Thomas Hardy.'

Abstract

In this study I examine the works of Thomas Hardy with the aim of 'identifying empire's fingerprints'¹ in his writings. The extent to which British domestic culture was influenced by empire is a matter of considerable debate amongst social and cultural theorists, and I join this debate by analysing an author not usually recognised as being an 'imperial' writer, despite the fact that he was writing during a period of major imperial expansion.

The expansion of British imperial power after the Napoleonic Wars was closely associated with the growth of powerful national institutions within Britain, and I suggest that a direct relationship exists between processes occurring in rural England, as described by Hardy, and processes occurring in the colonies of the empire in the latter half of the nineteenth century. I examine the many references to the Roman Empire and the Napoleonic Wars in Hardy's writing and suggest that these works reveal much about his own attitudes towards empire and historical progress. The binary opposition between ideas of the primitive and civilised was a central tenet of colonialism in the nineteenth century, and in his work Hardy questions this opposition and demonstrates the effect of outsiders on so-called 'primitive' communities. I examine the debate surrounding the use of gender as an articulated category with race and class when considering the oppressions of imperialism, and show how, by exposing the power structures operating within Britain, Hardy produces a critique of all forms of ideological oppression.

¹ Benita Parry, *Postcolonial Studies* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 109.

CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter 1. Colonies and Colonisers	13
Chapter 2. Empires: The Rise and Fall of Imperial Powers	49
Chapter 3. Empires: Napoleon and <i>The Dynasts</i>	91
Chapter 4. The Primitive and the Civilised	134
Chapter 5. The Crossing of Boundaries	173
Conclusion	220
Bibliography	238

Introduction

The novel is one of those areas of British culture that always used to be thought of as relatively empire-free; until that is, the cultural theorists cracked the code. Before Said¹ they had scarcely noticed the empire. That was because the objects of their researches – the ‘canonical’ novels of the nineteenth century, for example – did not seem to do so either. The received opinion was that this was because the latter were élitist, divorced from contemporary society; from which it could be inferred that the researchers’ study of them was elitist and irrelevant too. That may have been an incentive for them to discover some imperialism under the surface of these cultural productions. If culture could be shown to be *essential* to imperialism, it raised the importance of their field of study even more.²

To understand the imperial imaginary of British literature, enquiry must extend beyond the manifest representation of empire to those novels where it impinges in cryptic or oblique or encoded ways, and which hitherto had been read as narratives of an English condition sealed from and largely indifferent to the external world.³

While this strategy for containing the imperial experience has produced some very impressive work, it has also tended to cement in place an unnecessary wall, at least in literary studies, between the ‘imperial novel’ and its opposite number – the ‘domestic novel’, as some critics have unfortunately termed it. If the imperial experience of the nineteenth century had a truly profound impact on English culture, the ‘domestic’ novel’ ought to carry some traces of its cultural imprint.⁴

In choosing to examine the writings of Thomas Hardy with the object of revealing the ‘imperialism under the surface’, I have found myself engaged in an area of study around which there is considerable debate. Those involved in this debate are from various backgrounds including literary studies, postcolonial studies, social and cultural history, modern British history and women’s studies. One contributor to this debate, whose somewhat extreme position is presented in detail in *The Absent-*

¹ See Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus Ltd., 1993). Hereafter cited as *Culture and Imperialism*.

² Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 7, 138. Hereafter cited as *Absent-Minded Imperialists*.

³ Benita Parry, *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 107. Hereafter cited as *Postcolonial Studies*.

⁴ Daniel Bivona, *Desire and Contradiction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. vii.

Minded Imperialists, is the historian and writer on British imperial history, Bernard Porter. Although dismissed by most ‘cultural theorists’,⁵ his views deserve some consideration as they are shared by other writers in this field.⁶ Porter, as can be seen from the first quotation above, criticises Edward Said for revealing ‘imperial traits’ in the works of authors such as Austen, Charlotte Brontë and Dickens, ‘where they had hardly been noticed at all before’,⁷ and considers that Said’s *Culture and Imperialism* together with John Mackenzie’s book *Propaganda and Empire*⁸ ‘inspired “schools” of followers, who then found even more imperialism embedded in nineteenth and early twentieth-century British culture and society, sometimes in the most surprising places’.⁹ Porter’s denunciation of ‘the cultural theorists’ and his suggestion that their fresh interpretation of the canonical nineteenth century novels was motivated by self interest, demonstrates a failure to recognise the importance of late twentieth century feminist and postcolonial theory, which has led to a questioning of ‘the hegemony of canonical texts’.¹⁰

Among Said’s ‘followers’ Porter cites Catherine Hall and Antoinette Burton, both renowned academics in the fields of social and cultural history. Referring to Porter as ‘this king of the sceptics’, Hall allies herself more closely with Andrew Thompson who, in discussing the effects of empire, suggests, ‘in certain areas of British public life they were so closely entwined with other influences and impulses as to become thoroughly internalised’.¹¹ This echoes Antoinette Burton’s belief that

⁵ See, for example, Antoinette Burton’s review of Porter’s book in *Victorian Studies*, 47, No.4, Summer, 2005, 626-628.

⁶ See Erin O’Connor, ‘Preface for a Post-Colonial Criticism’, in *Victorian Studies*, 45, No.2, Winter, 2003, 217-246.

⁷ *Absent-Minded Imperialists*, p. viii.

⁸ John M. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

⁹ *Absent-Minded Imperialists*, p. viii.

¹⁰ See Tom Paulin, *Thomas Hardy: The Poetry of Perception* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1986), p. 5. Paulin’s views will be discussed more fully in the Conclusion to this study.

¹¹ Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 16. Hereafter cited as *At Home with the Empire*; Andrew Thompson, *The*

the history of empire ‘is an integral part of “British” social, political and cultural history because empire itself was the product of British national institutions, and because “domestic” British culture was so thoroughly influenced by its apparently external empire’.¹² In her review of Porter’s book, Burton summarises his position as taking ‘direct aim at those “theorists” who have, in his view, conspired to produce an utterly false and thoroughly distorted vision of the true impact of imperialism on domestic society’.¹³ She concludes by saying that ‘while this is a book that is worth reading, it is, regrettably, not a book that is worth arguing either with or about’.¹⁴ Although sympathising with this view, and having no intention of arguing with Porter’s thesis, in the pages that follow, I join the debate by examining the work of someone not recognised as being an ‘imperial’ writer, but whose major works were written during the period of greatest imperial expansion. If domestic British society was profoundly affected by imperialism, then evidence for this should be found in the works of Thomas Hardy. Daniel Bivona, quoted at the head of this chapter, was the first to examine texts such as *Jude the Obscure* [1895] in ‘an “imperial” light’, and to break down the division between the ‘imperial’ and ‘domestic’ novel. Bivona sees imperialism as the unconscious of nineteenth-century Britain, ‘lurking under the surface of a variety of discourses’.¹⁵ He acknowledges the influence of Edward Said and ‘post-structuralist “colonial discourse” theory’ on his work, agreeing that ‘the discourse on the “other” tells us more about the “subject” than about the “object”’.¹⁶ Bivona’s contention that *Jude the Obscure* can be seen ‘as a parable of the exercise

Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), p. 6.

¹² Antoinette Burton, ‘Rules of Thumb: British history and “imperial culture” in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain,’ in *Women’s History Review*, Volume 3, Number 4, 1994, 486-7.

¹³ Antoinette Burton, review of ‘Absent-Minded Imperialists’, *Victorian Studies*, 47, No. 4, Summer 2005, p. 627.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 628.

¹⁵ Daniel Bivona, *Desire and Contradiction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990) p. viii. Hereafter cited as *Desire and Contradiction*.

¹⁶ *Desire and Contradiction*, p. ix.

of the imperial power to exclude translated into the terms of social class',¹⁷ is discussed in chapters one and four of this study.

It seems necessary at this point to attempt a definition of the term 'imperialism', and differentiate it from 'colonialism', the two terms often being used synonymously. The distinction between these terms is important and will be analysed more fully in Chapter two. For now it is useful to quote Hall when she says that 'at its heart, empire is about power' and 'imperialism is the process of empire building. It is a project that originates in the metropolis and leads to domination and control over the peoples and lands of the periphery'.¹⁸ Hall quotes Ania Loomba's definition of colonialism as 'what happens in the colonies as a consequence of imperial domination', and her suggestion that the colony is the place which the power from the "metropole" 'penetrates and controls'.¹⁹

Antoinette Burton's belief that empire was 'the product of British national institutions', and the recognition by Hall and others that 'empire is about power', leads to a consideration of those institutions from which this power emanated. Linda Colley provides a useful summary of the factors which led to the expansion of British imperial power and the growth of powerful national institutions after the Napoleonic wars. As a result of defeat in the American War of Independence, Colley considers that the British 'had to re-examine their own identities and boundaries',²⁰ and because of questions being raised about the competence of the governing élite, this élite began to have concerns about their ability to maintain power. The revolution in France increased fears of possible revolution at home with the ensuing threat to property and rank, and the success of Napoleon also led to questioning of

¹⁷ *Desire and Contradiction*, p. xii.

¹⁸ *At Home with the Empire*, p. 6.

¹⁹ *At Home with the Empire*, p. 6.

²⁰ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 2003), p. 148. Hereafter cited as *Britons: Forging the Nation*.

‘the belief that men of land and birth were inherently more suited to the exercise of authority than any other social group’.²¹ From the 1780s various reformers such as Thomas Paine and William Cobbett began to question ‘the very legitimacy of the power élite’, and there was a call for parliamentary reform. As a result of this growing opposition stronger bonds were formed between landed families from all parts of Britain, bonds which were strengthened by intermarriage and by a desire to prove their patriotism and ‘Britishness’. The sons of the élite were educated in public schools instead of at home and these schools encouraged physical toughness, male bonding, militarism and patriotism. A classical education instilled with ideas of imperialism was continued when they progressed to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Finally, with the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, the dominant position of this powerful ruling class was assured. The extension of the empire required the same characteristics that would ensure the suppression of the lower classes and women at home, namely an emphasis on the ‘masculine’ qualities of militarism, heroism, patriotism and physical prowess, and the unmitigated belief that this small group of powerful, wealthy men had an absolute right to rule and control both at home and in the empire.

Cain and Hopkins, in their discussion of gentlemanly capitalism and empire, note: ‘Our interest in the causes of imperialism led us to a consideration of the exercise of power, and this in turn directed the analysis to the very masculine world formed by the City, London clubs, public schools and the military.’²² Like Colley, Cain and Hopkins recognise the importance of the small group of wealthy, capitalist landowners who also occupied the highest positions in the law, the church and the army as well as in the City. Their belief that ‘the imperial mission was the export

²¹ *Britons: Forging the Nation*, p. 150.

²² P.J.Cain and A.G.Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2002), p. 12. Hereafter cited as *British Imperialism*.

version of the gentlemanly order', and that 'the empire was a superb arena for gentlemanly endeavour, the ultimate testing ground for the idea of responsible progress, for the battle against evil, for the performance of duty, and for the achievement of honour',²³ will be discussed further in Chapter one.

According to Colley the importance attached to so-called 'masculine' ideals resulted in a 'renewed emphasis on the physical, intellectual, emotional and functional differences between men and women'.²⁴ These ideas were reinforced at the end of the eighteenth century by the writings of Rousseau,²⁵ and also by concerns that women might join with men to demand the vote and become more active in public life rather than staying at home to produce the next generation of patriotic men ready to fight for their country. The participation of women in the French Revolution added to these fears, providing for conservative British men 'a grim demonstration of the dangers that ensued when women were allowed to stray outside their proper sphere'.²⁶

The necessity for the governing élite to maintain power after defeat in America and revolution in France saw the development of institutions which supported a patriarchal, dominant group of wealthy landowners, who in addition to extending their power in the empire, exerted that power at home in an attempt to control any groups who might be a threat to their dominant position. These groups included the working classes and women, and therefore a consideration of class and gender in the context of empire appears to be valid. Foucault's idea of discursive formations and social power are important in this respect since categories such as gender, class and race may be considered to be discursively constructed and 'always express relations

²³ *British Imperialism*, p. 47.

²⁴ *Britons: Forging the Nation*, p. 239.

²⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* [1762] was widely available in English translation from 1770.

²⁶ *Britons: Forging the Nation*, p. 252.

of power'.²⁷ There is however considerable debate on the extent to which these forms of oppression may be considered in the same context as the oppression resulting from imperialism, and this debate will be explored more fully in Chapter five. Gayatri Spivak in particular, warns against equating imperialism with racism,²⁸ but it must be remembered that the construction of 'race' in the nineteenth century was built upon a hierarchy with the white Western male at the top and the black female at the bottom. This was a hierarchy of power and, as noted above, this hierarchy was established by the same groups who were responsible for expanding the empire. In the words of Catherine Hall: 'It was the colonial encounters which produced a new category, race, a term the meanings of which have always been contested and challenged'.²⁹ This historical context is important as the concept of 'race' within 'First World' countries in the second half of the twentieth century is not the same as that under discussion here.

The consideration of gender as an articulated category with race and class when considering the oppressions of imperialism is questioned by some theorists. Benita Parry, whom I quote at the beginning of this chapter, follows Edward Said and Daniel Bivona in acknowledging the 'effects of empire on a range of metropolitan cultural forms',³⁰ but is more cautious in accepting the view of some, mainly feminist, writers who, like Tamar Heller, seek to show 'how the hierarchies of gender and class that undergird British culture *replicate* the politics of colonialism'.³¹ Parry suggests that 'those who seek to install parity between the

²⁷ Catherine Hall, *Cultures of empire: Colonizers in Britain and the empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 17. Hereafter cited as *Cultures of Empire*.

²⁸ See Gayatri Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak' in Williams and Chrisman, *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* (Harlow: Pearson education Limited, 1994).

²⁹ *Cultures of Empire*, p. 19.

³⁰ *Postcolonial Studies*, p. 110.

³¹ Tamar Heller, *Dead Secrets: Wilkie Collins and the Female Gothic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp.144-145, quoted in *Postcolonial Studies*, p. 109.

egregious oppressions legitimated by a politics of empire and the subordination of middle-class Englishwomen by a male-dominated bourgeois society are committing a category error by linking two distinct social realities'. She also suggests that the fact that women colluded with 'the dominant ethos points to fissures in the interrelationship between gender, class and imperial politics, rather than to their integration'.³² Parry herself, however, seems to contradict this view when discussing John Mackenzie's extensive study on how 'state institutions' and 'civil agencies' presented and promoted 'the imperial project', and his view that 'a vast and complicated machinery operated to solicit the metropolitan individual as subject and agent of imperialism'. She admits that colonialist discourse 'invited the subject simultaneously constituted by class and gender discourses to reposition her/himself within a privileged community, a solicitation inducing social conformity and class deference...'³³ Parry seems here to be agreeing with Judith Butler and her theory of 'performativity', which suggests that categories such as gender and race are manufactured as a result of authoritative acts of discourse which become internalised under conditions of domination. Butler believes that 'race and gender ought not to be treated as simple analogies'³⁴ but that they 'find their most powerful articulation through one another'.³⁵ Nancy Stepan notes that the analogies made around race, gender and class in the nineteenth century 'were used by scientists to justify resistance to efforts at social change on the part of women and "lower races," on the

³² *Postcolonial Studies*, p. 110.

³³ *Postcolonial Studies*, p. 34.

³⁴ For a discussion on the use of analogies and metaphor in science see Nancy Leys Stepan, 'Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science,' in *Isis*, Vol.77, No.2 (June 1986), 261-277.

³⁵ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Abingdon:Routledge, 1990), pp. xvi-ii.

grounds that inequality was a “fact” of nature and not a function of the power relations in a society’.³⁶

My justification then, for considering race, class and gender as articulated categories in the context of empire is that those who were not of the same gender, race or class as the dominant, governing élite were categorised as being physically and intellectually inferior, both in the domestic and colonial situation. Foucault provides a useful comment on the way in which colonisation exerted a powerful effect in the metropole as well as in the colonies:

It should never be forgotten that while colonisation, with its techniques and its political and juridical weapons, obviously transported European models to other continents, it also had a considerable boomerang effect on the mechanisms of power in the West, and on the apparatuses, institutions, and techniques of power. A whole series of colonial models was brought back to the West, and the result was that the West could practice something resembling colonisation, or an internal colonialism, on itself.³⁷

In this study I examine the works of Thomas Hardy with the aim of ‘identifying empire’s fingerprints’³⁸ in his writings. Parry observes: ‘Concerning nineteenth-century fictions, commentary has observed that the colonial worlds served as symptoms of mystery and exoticism, disturbance, fear and corruption.’³⁹ This may well be true, but for Hardy they also symbolised renewal, an opportunity to break with the moral strictures operating at home and a possibility for new ways of thinking. The colonial experiences of Swinon St Cleve and Angel Clare are very different from those experienced by more conventionally imperialistic characters in novels of the period.⁴⁰ The use Hardy makes of his characters’ sojourns in colonial

³⁶ See Note 36, Stepan, p. 275.

³⁷ Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2003), p. 103.

³⁸ *Postcolonial Studies*, p. 109.

³⁹ *Postcolonial Studies*, p. 108.

⁴⁰ For example, in the novels of Kipling, Henty and Rider Haggard.

countries to question the moral superiority of his own country is discussed in Chapter one.

In Hardy's novels the effects of Foucault's 'internal colonialism' are powerfully portrayed in the lives of characters such as Jude Fawley, Sue Bridehead and Tess Durbeyfield. Bivona believes that in *Jude the Obscure* Hardy shows 'the colonisation of two individuals by an alien yet monolithic system of social rules. It is about how a social system of organised domination stamps its own meanings on novel gestures...'⁴¹ Jude is rejected by Christminster university because to accept him would be to transgress the rigid barriers set up to preserve the dominance of the ruling class.

Edward Said's definition of imperialism as 'an act of geographical violence' may well be disputed, but 'the loss of the locality to the outsider'⁴² is an important theme in Hardy's writings, and is explored in Chapter two with particular reference to the Roman Empire as portrayed by Hardy in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and the Rome poems. Frantz Fanon says that 'every colonised people – in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality – finds itself face to face with the language of the civilising nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country'.⁴³ The importance the Romans attached to the acquisition of their language by the native Celts may be compared to the importance attached to 'cultivated speech' by the imagined visitor from London to the Dorset countryside in Hardy's 'The Dorsetshire Labourer',⁴⁴ and here as in so much of Hardy's writing his ambivalent position with regard to tradition and progress comes to the fore.

⁴¹ *Desire and Contradiction*, p. 95.

⁴² *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 271.

⁴³ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* [1952] (London: Pluto Press, 1986), p. 18.

⁴⁴ Thomas Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer' [1883], in Harold Orel, ed., *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings* (London: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1967), pp. 168-191.

Hardy's lifelong interest in the Napoleonic Wars culminated in the writing of his verse-drama *The Dynasts*, and in Chapter three I show how in this work the emperor Napoleon and his imperialistic ambitions are compared with the imperialistic rulers of Britain and their equally aggressive expansionist policies, providing Hardy with the perfect stage on which to express his views on empire and war, as well as philosophical ideas on freewill and determinism.

The binary opposition between ideas of the primitive and civilised was a central tenet of colonialism in the nineteenth century, but as Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha warn, care needs to be taken in constructing a similar binary between colonised and coloniser. Bhabha 'rejects the notion of the colonial relationship as a symmetrical antagonism',⁴⁵ and Spivak says: 'I am critical of the binary opposition coloniser/colonised'.⁴⁶ In Chapter four I suggest that in his writings Hardy seems to anticipate the work of post-structuralists such as Derrida in breaking down oppositions such as primitive/civilised, backward/advanced, superstitious/rational. Bivona comments that Hardy was one of the writers who in his work went 'well beyond a simple-minded recapitulation of the Victorian cultural hierarchy of the civilised over the primitive',⁴⁷ and in novels such as *The Return of the Native* and *The Woodlanders*, the effect of outsiders on so-called 'primitive' communities is demonstrated. Primitivism is usually associated by Hardy with instinctiveness and naturalness and is not to be confused with barbarism which is as much associated with the 'civilised' as with the 'primitive'.

The argument relating to gender, class and race has been discussed previously in this Introduction, and in Chapter five I continue this discussion using Hardy's last three novels to show how he produces a critique of all forms of ideological

⁴⁵ *Postcolonial Studies*, p. 14.

⁴⁶ Gayatri Spivak, in *Postcolonial Studies*, p. 14.

⁴⁷ *Desire and Contradiction*, p. 78.

oppression and exposes the power structures operating within Britain in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

I conclude this study with a discussion of the extent to which Hardy himself was used to support the very establishment which he criticised in his work, and how his more radical writing was treated as an aberration and frequently ignored. His position as an outsider, writing from the margins, leads to a comparison with Irish writers such as Yeats, both writing from a tradition which existed outside the established canon of English Literature.

Chapter 1 Colonies and Colonisers

If I have insisted on integration and connections between the past and the present, between imperialiser and imperialised, between culture and imperialism, I have done so not to level or reduce differences, but rather to convey a more urgent sense of the interdependence between things. So vast and yet so detailed is imperialism as an experience with crucial cultural dimensions, that we must speak of overlapping territories, intertwined histories common to men and women, whites and non-whites, dwellers in the metropolis and on the peripheries, past as well as present and future; these territories and histories can only be seen from the perspective of the whole of secular human history.¹

In the first part of this chapter I look at direct references to the colonies in Hardy's writings and examine the significance of these references and their contribution to the narrative. I then consider the use by Hardy of analogues of colonialism, and the extent to which colonisation may be considered as a process occurring within national boundaries as well as between one country and another.

Bernard Porter's thesis, propounded in his book *The Absent-Minded Imperialists* and summarised in the quotation at the head of the introduction to this study, conflicts with the work of many theorists who have endeavoured to demonstrate the extent to which imperialism formed an integral part of British social and cultural life in the nineteenth-century. Edward Said and Daniel Bivona were amongst the first to reveal signs of empire in canonical nineteenth-century novels, and in this study I continue this tradition by examining the works of Thomas Hardy. Porter's somewhat scathing comments on the theorists of nineteenth century literature need to be rebuffed, and one of my aims here is to show that in the nineteenth century, empire was such an integral part of British identity that it would have been impossible for any literary production to be 'empire-free', even if this influence is not immediately evident to the reader.

¹ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p. 72. Hereafter cited as *Culture and Imperialism*.

There are many direct references to the colonies in Hardy's writings, and he does not simply use them, as Porter suggests, as places where unwanted or troublesome characters may be permanently banished or conveniently hidden until required again by the plot. Brantlinger maintains that: 'In the middle of the most serious domestic concerns, often in the most unlikely texts, the Empire may intrude as a shadowy realm of escape, renewal, banishment, or return for characters who for one reason or another need to enter or exit from scenes of domestic conflict.'²

Although there is no doubt much truth in this statement, I argue below that for Hardy there were other more profound reasons for relocating characters to the colonies or other distant places. In presenting these arguments it is important to stress that at this stage I am not ascribing to Hardy a particular attitude to or feeling about empire or colonialism, but rather examining the use he makes of the colonies in his writings and what this might indicate about his views on humanity in general and about the current role of Britain in relation to her colonial possessions. It soon becomes evident that on the surface these views are not necessarily consistent, and that this inconsistency accords with Hardy's apparent ambiguity on many important issues.

Constantly recurring themes in Hardy's writings are the connectedness of mankind, the futility of war, the transitory nature of empires and the insignificance of human concerns when put into perspective against the vastness of the universe. Those distant, shadowy lands colonised by the British were used by Hardy to show that however strange and disparate they may appear to be, they form part of the same small planet, and that although the moral views of their inhabitants may be far removed from those of Victorian Christians, those views were equally valid and possibly more desirable.

² Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 12. Hereafter cited as *Rule of Darkness*.

In a letter to Florence Henniker written in 1900, while the Boer War was underway, Hardy observed: 'We the civilised world have given Christianity a fair trial for nearly 2000 years, and it has not yet taught countries the rudimentary virtue of keeping peace: so why not throw it over, and try, say, Buddhism?'³ In *His Country* written shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, Hardy wrote:

I journeyed from my native spot
Across the south sea shine,
And found that people in hall and cot
Laboured and suffered each his lot
Even as I did mine...

I further and further went anon
As such I still surveyed,
And further yet – yea, on and on,
And all the men I looked upon
Had heart-strings fellow-made...

I asked me: 'Whom have I to fight,
And whom have I to dare,
And whom to weaken, crush, and blight?
My country seems to have kept in sight
On my way everywhere.'⁴

Interestingly, Bailey notes that when first published this poem had a final stanza:

'Ah, you deceive with such pleas!
Said one with pitying eye.
'Foreigners – not like us - are these;
Stretch country-love beyond the seas? -
Too Christian.' 'Strange,' said I.⁵

It is perhaps easy to see why this ironic stanza was excluded. With the country on the verge of war, the sentiments expressed here were those generally accepted by the majority of the population, and Hardy's mocking of these sentiments would not have been favourably received. As he wrote to Florence Henniker during the Boer War,

³ R.L.Purdy and M.Millgate, eds., *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy, Vol.2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978-88), p. 248. Hereafter cited throughout this study as *CL in parenthesis*.

⁴ James Gibson, ed., *The Complete Poems of Thomas Hardy* (Macmillan London Ltd., 1976), p. 539. Hereafter cited throughout this study as *CP in parenthesis*.

⁵ J.O.Bailey *The Poetry of Thomas Hardy* (The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1970), p. 418. Hereafter cited as Bailey.

‘My Soldiers’ Wives’ Song finishes up my war effusions, of which I am happy to say that not a single one is Jingo or Imperial – a fatal defect according to the judgement of the British majority at present’ (*CL*, II, 277). Although comments such as this suggest definite anti-imperialist sentiments, it might be argued that certain lines from *His Country*, omitted above, indicate the opposite. The lines:

Then said I, ‘What is there to bound
My denizenship? It seems I have found
Its scope to be world-wide (*CP*, 539)

might be taken as justification for British occupation of foreign lands rather than a call for universal brotherhood and the dismantling of national boundaries. These lines, however, are immediately followed by the question ‘Whom have I [...] to weaken, crush, and blight?’ and I suggest that this is more consistent with the feelings expressed in the poem as a whole and in the rest of Hardy’s writings.

The views expressed by Hardy in *His Country* on the interconnectedness of man and the unity of all those living on this planet are often accompanied elsewhere in his writings by astronomical imagery. This imagery is used to particular effect in relation to the colonies and other distant foreign lands. In the fore-scene to *The Dynasts*, earth is viewed from outer space by the various ancient spirits, and ‘the point of view then sinks downwards through space, and draws near to the surface of the perturbed countries, where the peoples, distressed by events which they did not cause, are seen writhing, crawling, heaving, and vibrating in their various cities and nationalities.’⁶ On two separate occasions in different novels stars are used to link characters at home and in the Empire, on both occasions serving to remind people at home in England that those abroad whom they would prefer to forget are in fact quite close to them when seen in relation to the vastness of the universe. These

⁶ Thomas Hardy, *The Dynasts*, Part I [1904] (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1958), p. 6.

countries cannot be so distant and strange since their inhabitants can see some of the same constellations in the sky as those viewed from Britain.

In *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, when Knight and Elfride are beginning to fall in love they walk out together under the night sky and Elfride observes a bright star ‘...exactly over me’. ‘Each bright star is overhead somewhere’, observes Knight, and continues to ponder the fact that the stars they can see will also be seen in the Cape Verde Islands, at the source of the Nile and over the North Pole — and, in particular: ‘that idle one low down upon the ground, that we have almost rolled round to, is in India — over the head of a young friend of mine, who very possibly looks at the star in our zenith, as it hangs low upon his horizon, and thinks of it as marking where his true love dwells’.⁷ The young friend in India is of course Elfride’s former lover Stephen who she is starting to forget. Almost identical words as Knight’s are used by Swithin St Cleeve in *Two on a Tower*, when he is walking under the stars with Lady Constantine: ‘You may possibly be interested in knowing, Lady Constantine, that that medium-sized star you see over there, low down in the south, is precisely over Sir Blount Constantine’s head in the middle of Africa.’⁸ As with Elfride, these words come at the point when Viviette is beginning to feel attracted to Swithin, and it is her husband Sir Blount who is the obstacle to their union. Although it may be true, as suggested by Brantlinger⁹, that both Stephen and Sir Blount have been conveniently placed in the colonies so that the relationships between Knight and Elfride and Viviette and Swithin may develop in their absence, there is clearly a larger authorial vision in evidence here. Hardy’s use of star imagery serves to indicate that these

⁷ Thomas Hardy, *A Pair of Blue Eyes* [1873] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 182-3.

⁸ Thomas Hardy, *Two on a Tower* [1882] (London: Macmillan Limited, 1986), p. 25. Further reference will be made by page number in parenthesis.

⁹ *Rule of Darkness*, p. 2.

characters in distant colonial countries are still connected to the homeland by virtue of living on the same small planet in an immense universe.

It can be argued that astronomical imagery is also used by Hardy to explore a different and seemingly contradictory aspect of colonialism, that is the fear which accompanies exploration of the unknown, whether it be the unknown recesses of the universe or the unexplored areas of foreign lands. In *Two on a Tower* Swithin's exploration of the distant recesses of the universe not only serves to emphasise the interconnectedness of mankind, but also points to the vastness and mystery of unexplored worlds. His telescopic travels through the 'yawning spaces' of the universe is, in some sense, parallel to Sir Blount's exploration into the heart of Africa. When Swithin looks through the telescope, 'It was a peep into a maelstrom of fire, taking place where nobody had ever been or ever would be' (p. 6). The immensity of the universe fills Swithin with horror, the horror of the unknown: 'horrid monsters lie up there waiting to be discovered [...] such monsters are the voids and waste places of the sky [...] those are deep wells for the human mind to let itself down into, leave alone the human body!' (pp. 23-4). These reflections are made by Swithin shortly before his observation that one of the stars they are looking at is 'precisely over Sir Blount Constantine's head in the middle of Africa' (p. 25). It is tempting to draw a parallel between the horrors of the unknowable universe and the horrors imagined by the explorers of the unknown heart of Africa. This is reminiscent of Marlow's description, in Conrad's novel *Heart of Darkness* [1902], of Kurtz staring 'with that wide and immense stare embracing, condemning, loathing all the universe' and of hearing his 'whispered cry, "The horror! The horror!"'¹⁰ Swithin fears the enormity of the universe for the horrors he might discover there,

¹⁰ Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* [1902] (Penguin Books, 1973), p. 106. Further reference will be made by page number in parenthesis.

but for Kurtz the horror lies in discovering the nature of his own psyche. Swithin says of the sky: 'I [...] fear it for what I know is there, but cannot see, as one naturally fears the presence of a vast formless something that only reveals a very little of itself' (pp. 46-7). Kurtz's fear arises from the discovery of the 'monster' within himself, revealed when the veneer of 'civilised restraint' is removed as a result of living in alien surroundings, cut off from authority and tradition.¹¹ In the deep heart of Africa, Marlow also is 'completely unnerved by a sheer blank fright, pure abstract terror, unconnected with any distinct shape of physical danger [...] something altogether monstrous, intolerable to thought and odious to the soul' (p. 92). Hardy describes how as Swithin and Viviette walked together 'they were oppressed with the presence of a vastness they could not cope with even as an idea, and which hung about them like a nightmare' (p. 47), just as, after the death of Kurtz, Marlow 'remained to dream the nightmare out to the end' (p. 100).

In a journal entry written six years after the publication of *Two on a Tower*, Hardy observes that: 'Apprehension is a great element in imagination. It is a semi-madness, which sees enemies, etc., in inanimate objects,'¹² just as Swithin fears what he knows is there but cannot see, and Marlow's fear is 'unconnected with any distinct shape of physical danger' (p. 92). In *The Dynasts*, Hardy writes of :

...ghastly gulfs of sky,
Where hideous presences churn through the dark-
Monsters of magnitude without a shape,
Hanging amid deep wells of nothingness.¹³

In a separate journal entry, Hardy distinguishes between 'physical' and 'psychical' adventures or explorations, the importance of the latter lying in the effect they have

¹¹ See Daniel Bivona, *Desire and Contradiction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 86. Hereafter cited as *Desire and Contradiction*. See also discussion on Freud's theory of the unconscious in this chapter, p. 21.

¹² Florence Emily Hardy, *The Life of Thomas Hardy 1840-1928* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1962), p. 204. Hereafter cited throughout this study as *Life*.

¹³ Thomas Hardy, *The Dynasts*, Part 3 [1908] (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1958), p. 522.

‘upon the faculties’.¹⁴ Swithin’s telescopic journey through the constellations may surely be considered as ‘psychical’, and although Marlow, by contrast, is undergoing a physical journey into the heart of Africa, the true adventure lies in the effect that this journey has on his ‘faculties’. The nature of this ‘psychical’ fear is considered further by Gillian Beer in her book, *Darwin’s Plots*, when she says: ‘In *Heart of Darkness* terror of what will be found at the centre of man’s emotions takes the form of a journey into the jungle and of empire over ‘primitive’ tribes, a journey of self-destruction.’¹⁵ Swithin’s astronomical journey to the remotest areas of the universe has a similar effect on Viviette, whose response to the vastness of the unknown is: ‘It makes me feel that it is not worthwhile to live; it quite annihilates me’ (p. 23).

Gillian Beer relates the ‘fear of fear’, of the sort experienced by both Swithin and Marlow, to the late nineteenth century pre-occupation with fear in the context of empire. The colonial adventures of empire had produced ‘a culture which set so much store by courage, or ‘pluck’’,¹⁶ that fear of the unknown would negate the colonial enterprise of exploring and exploiting undiscovered areas of the world. Fred Reid similarly comments that in this time of ‘intensified colonial activity [...] discourses of masculinity increasingly stressed pugnacious self-reliance’ and ‘militaristic prowess’,¹⁷ qualities deemed to be essential for the coloniser.

That Hardy recognises and comments upon this fear of the unknown, in no way negates his belief in the interconnectedness of mankind. As Beer acknowledges, fear in the context of empire was a characteristic of the time in which Hardy was writing, but:

¹⁴ *Life*, p. 204.

¹⁵ Gillian Beer, *Darwin’s Plots* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 220. Hereafter cited as *Darwin’s Plots*.

¹⁶ *Darwin’s Plots*, p. 220.

¹⁷ Fred Reid, ‘Wayfarers and Seafarers; Ideas of History in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*’ in *The Thomas Hardy Journal*, October 1997, Vol. XIII No.3, p. 55.

it was an emotion to be controlled, suppressed, outgrown ...occupying the same place in the metaphor of development as do 'primitive' peoples. Reason is cast as an adult emotion, just as western European man is an 'adult' on the scale of development. So like primitive peoples, fear is to be kept under control.¹⁸

The fear which must be suppressed, the fear of the primitive within ourselves, was to be described by Sigmund Freud in 1917, when he said:

human megalomania will have suffered its third and most wounding blow from the psychological research of the present time which seeks to prove to the ego that it is not master in its own house.¹⁹

Swithin's 'vast formless something that only reveals a very little of itself', not only describes the unknowable universe but also 'the dark inaccessible part of our personality',²⁰ the part of our mental make-up which Freud would later refer to as the 'id'. Swithin's 'peep into a maelstrom of fire' is, for Freud, the id as 'chaos, a cauldron full of seething excitations'.²¹ Kurtz's 'horror' in *Heart of Darkness* results from his confrontation with this chaos when the 'civilised restraint' of the super-ego is removed.

When Hardy uses astronomical imagery to stress the interconnectedness of peoples, he is demonstrating that fear of the unknown may be overcome through understanding just as fear of the vastness of the universe will be overcome by observation and increasing familiarity. Similarly, in *His Country* Hardy is calling for the unity of mankind on the basis of equality rather than the subjugation of one country by another on the basis of a distorted belief in Western superiority.

It is in his poetry that Hardy seems able to express most directly his feelings about Britain's colonial enterprise. In the poem *Departure*, written on watching the troops depart from Southampton Docks for the Boer War in 1899, he writes:

How long, O striving Teutons, Slavs, and Gaels

¹⁸ *Darwin's Plots*, p. 220.

¹⁹ Sigmund Freud, *Introductory Lectures in Psychoanalysis* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 326.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 105.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 106.

Must your wroth reasonings trade on lives like these,
That are as puppets in a playing hand?-
When shall the saner softer polities
Whereof we dream, have sway in each proud land
And patriotism, grown Godlike, scorn to stand
Bondslave to realms, but circle earth and seas? (*CP*, 86)

The sentiments expressed here on the unity of mankind echo those found in *His Country*, and, as Bailey points out, ‘the dominant races of the Western World, engaged in “wroth reasonings”...are personified in their tribal pride as “Teutons, Slavs, and Gaels”’.²²

I suggest, however, that it is in the poem *Drummer Hodge* that Hardy reveals more precisely his antagonism to colonialism, and in doing so again makes use of astronomical imagery. The young boy from the Wessex countryside has gone to fight in the Boer War in a strange, faraway land of which he knows nothing, but which is being fought over by Imperial powers. When he dies he is shown no respect by the representatives of these powers, for he has served his purpose in enabling the rulers of his country to acquire control over the land. There is an interesting contrast here between Hodge and the soldier in Rupert Brooke’s poem, written during the First World War, for Brooke’s soldier is proud to be part of this war, and if he dies the soil in which he is buried will become part of England because it contains his English ‘dust’:

...there’s some corner of a foreign field
That is forever England...²³

Hardy’s Drummer boy, however, will not make the South African soil part of England, but will himself become incorporated into the foreign landscape:

Yet portion of that unknown plain
Will Hodge for ever be;
His homely Northern breast and brain

²² Bailey, p. 117.

²³ Rupert Brooke, ‘The Soldier’[1914] in Geoffrey Keynes ed. *The Poetical Works of Rupert Brooke* (London; Faber and Faber limited, 1960), p. 23.

Grow to some Southern tree... (CP, 90)

The boy from imperial England, who has no knowledge of the country in which he is fighting, will in his death, become part of that country and her landscape, forming a connection between North and South. The references to the stars in the sky above him reinforce this connection, for although the stars in the Southern skies were strange to Hodge, these 'strange-eyed constellations' (CP, 90) will now shine over him for eternity. In contrast, when Brooke's soldier becomes 'A pulse in the eternal mind', he 'Gives somewhere back the thoughts by England given', and we are left with a sense of the primacy of Englishness, a sense which is totally absent from Hardy's poem.

A comparison may also be made between Drummer Hodge and the young English officer from India killed by the Boers in Kipling's short story *A Sahib's War*. As Hodge becomes part of the 'unknown plain' when he is killed, so Kurban Sahib's final memorial is a great rock which will remain forever, like Hodge's kopje-crest, as a landmark on this foreign plain. Kipling, who, unlike Hardy, was a firm believer in Britain's imperial role, manages even so, to convey a sense of the futility of this war of occupation, for Kurban Sahib's memorial is surrounded by an empty landscape with no sign of life. 'There is nothing at all' says Umr Singh 'except the two trees withered by the fire. The rest is like the desert here – or my hand – or my heart. Empty [...] all empty.'²⁴

In *Two on a Tower* Swithin St Cleeve is left a bequest by his uncle so that he may travel and study the 'strange-eyed constellations' in the southern hemisphere, and with his arrival in the Cape:

²⁴ Rudyard Kipling 'A Sahib's War' in *Collected Stories* (London: David Campbell Publishers Ltd., 1994), p. 549.

New ideas struggled to disclose themselves; and with the addition of strange twinklers to his southern horizon came an absorbed attention that way, and a corresponding forgetfulness of what lay to the north behind his back whether human or celestial... Viviette , who till then had stood high in his heaven...sank like the North Star, lower and lower with his retreat southward (p. 198).

A new theme in Hardy's use of the colonies is encountered here, and is repeated on several other occasions in his writings: the idea that travel to these distant lands enables a character to rethink their feelings, their beliefs and even their morality.

Viviette, who has sacrificed her happiness so that Swithin may study these southern constellations, now becomes part of the North which he has left behind and like the North Star comes to represent his old life which is being supplanted by new ideas and new ways of seeing things. Viviette marries the Bishop of Melchester to protect her unborn child and avoid moral censoriousness, but in succumbing to the moral code of her country she sacrifices her 'personal integrity' (p. 201). Swithin is horrified by what she has done but feels strangely disconnected from events at home and returns to his work, experiencing a new sense of freedom. He remembers the times when his assignations with Viviette interrupted his study of the stars 'so that in giving to her the golden moments of cloudlessness he was losing his chance with the orbs above' (p. 202). Now, in the Cape, 'the changes overhead had all his attention' (p. 202), and these changes in the patterns of the stars were accompanied by new ways of thinking, free from the restraints imposed by a society on the other side of the globe. Swithin, looking at the Southern skies could see that, 'The old subject was imprinted there, but in a new type. Here was a heaven, fixed and ancient as the northern' (p. 202); a heaven whose stars, Hardy imagined, were to shine each night over the burial mound of Drummer Hodge, and form a connection between his 'Northern breast and brain' (*CP*, 91) and the Southern tree into which their atoms would be incorporated. To Swithin, these 'unfamiliar constellations which, to the

casual beholder, are at most a new arrangement of ordinary points of light, were [...] a far greater matter. It was below the surface that his material lay [...] there were gloomy deserts in those southern skies' and 'the inspection of these chasms brought him a second pulsation of that old horror' (p. 203). This is the horror that Swithin had experienced at home when confronted with the vast, unexplored spaces of the universe, a horror also experienced by the early colonialists when entering the unknown heart of Africa. To Swithin the 'infinite deeps in the north stellar region had a homely familiarity about them, when compared with infinite deeps in the region of the south pole. This was an even more unknown tract of the unknown' (p. 203). It is surely significant that in the intervals between his studies of these unknown tracts, which would result in an increased familiarity with their configuration, Swithin takes walks 'among the farms which were gradually overspreading the country in the vicinity of Cape Town' (p. 204), a sign of the increasing colonisation by an imperial power of a previously unknown land. During these walks Swithin thinks of Viviette but only as a distant memory. He feels that there is some wrong associated with 'that curious pathetic chapter in his life', but 'he could not exactly define the boundary of the wrong' (p. 204), and tries to cast it from his mind.

This sense of ambiguous morality is experienced by several of Hardy's characters after sojourns in the colonies. In *Two on a Tower* Viviette's husband Sir Blount Constantine is in Africa, for he had 'a mania for African lion-hunting, which he dignified by calling it a scheme of geographical discovery' (p. 18). The equating of the violent pursuit of hunting with geographical discovery brings to mind Edward Said's contention that, 'Imperialism after all is an act of geographical violence through which virtually every space in the world is explored, charted, and finally

brought under control.’²⁵ Believing her husband to have ‘died of malarious fever on the banks of the Zouga’ (p. 158). Viviette secretly marries Swithin, only to discover later that Sir Blount had not in fact died until six weeks after the marriage, which was consequently bigamous. Viviette is filled with shame and humiliation at her ‘present improper state’ (p. 162), although she is fully aware from the correspondence received from South Africa that Sir Blount had also embarked upon a bigamous marriage: ‘He had dropped his old name altogether, and had married a native princess according to the rites of the tribe, and was living very happily with her’ (p. 158). Although Hardy has left us in no doubt about Sir Blount’s character, it is extremely unlikely that he would have flouted the moral code of his country so blatantly at home, and the letter carries the information that Sir Blount ‘had decided to reside with her (the princess) in that country, as being a land which afforded him greater happiness than he could hope to attain elsewhere’ (p. 159). The next piece of information provided in the letter does seem to be somewhat in conflict with this picture of contentment, for we are told that Sir Blount is drinking heavily and is ‘at times very greatly depressed in mind at his position’ (p. 159), this depression soon leading to suicide. It is difficult to presume that Hardy is handing out some retribution to Sir Blount for his immorality unless it is to satisfy the demands of his readers. In a letter to Millicent Fawcett in 1906 he spoke of the need to ‘break up the present pernicious conventions in respect of manners, customs, religion, illegitimacy, the stereotyped household’ (CL, III, 238), and in *Jude the Obscure* Sue talks of marriage as being ‘a sordid contract, based on material convenience in householding, rating and taxing’.²⁶ It is significant that Sir Blount marries his princess ‘according to the rites of the tribe’ (p. 158), for in this respect he is not actually guilty of bigamy

²⁵ *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 271.

²⁶ Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure* [1895] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 220. Further reference will be made by page number in parenthesis.

in the eyes of British law, as Viviette is. This moral ambiguity leads the reader to question ideas of what is right and what is wrong, and as on other occasions this questioning is prompted by the presence of a character in a colonial or distant country. Residing in these countries may also encourage a revaluation of one's behaviour at home. Sir Blount's depression and suicide may well have resulted from a growing recognition of his harsh treatment and neglect of Viviette.

In *Jude the Obscure* Arabella tells Jude that she has married the Sydney hotel manager 'Regularly – legally – in church', and when the shocked Jude refers to her bigamous marriage as a crime, she says 'Crime! Pooh. They don't think much of such as that over there! Lots of 'em do it...we lived honourable enough, and as respectable as any married couple in the Colony!' (p. 193). Arabella's life is run by 'instincts' and 'impulse',²⁷ and in the colonies she is not concerned with the moral, or 'civilised' restrictions which would apply at home. Before her departure for Australia she had suggested to Jude that 'A woman of her sort would have more chance over there than in this stupid country' (p. 118). Arabella does not suffer the agonies and torments of Sue who constantly attempts to live by her own principles, particularly in relation to her ideas of a 'natural'²⁸ marriage, but finds herself in conflict with the norms of society as a result of these views. It would appear that Hardy is not encouraging his readers to make value judgements about the behaviour of his characters in these colonial countries, but rather implying that there are different ways of behaving and these may be equally valid. He readily admits in a letter to the novelist Maurice Hewlett in 1909, that any 'moral and social teaching' that might be obtained from his writings is not 'of the correct and accepted pattern,'

²⁷ Penny Boumelha, *Thomas Hardy and Women* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 152.

²⁸ Ramon Saldivar 'Jude the Obscure: Reading and the Spirit of the Law' in Penny Boumelha, ed., *Jude the Obscure* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), p. 42.

and that 'I am determined [...] to show that what we call immorality, irreligion, etc., are often true morality, true religion, etc.' (CL, IV, 28).

Perhaps the most significant example of this reappraisal of morality associated with residence in the colonies occurs in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* when Angel Clare, after learning of Tess's relationship with Alec d'Urberville, decides to emigrate to Brazil. Brazil, which had previously been a Portuguese colony, had been an independent monarchy since the 1820s, but in the eyes of the British it could be grouped with all strange, distant countries which offered opportunities for exploration and for the making of fortunes by the exploitation of natural resources at the expense of the indigenous poor. Angel intends to buy land and become a farmer and even entertains the notion of Tess joining him at some time in the future, for 'perhaps in that country of contrasting scenes and notions and habits the conventions would not be so operative which made life with her seem impracticable to him here'.²⁹ Angel's concern about breaching the moral conventions of his country seems to conflict with his personal reaction to Tess's confession: 'You were one person; now you are another...the woman I have been loving is not you' (p. 298-9). Removal to another country would remove the pressure of conforming with social norms, but it could surely not affect his moral aversion to Tess as a person; only a complete rethinking of his personal values and attitudes is likely to do this. Angel's moral confusion is further emphasised when, shortly after his musings on the possibility of Tess joining him in Brazil, he meets Izz Huett and asks her to accompany him to Brazil, observing: 'Why not be revenged on society by shaping his future domesticities loosely, instead of kissing the pedagogic rod of convention in this ensnaring manner' (p. 343). When Izz seems ready to assent to his request he

²⁹ Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urberville* [1891] (London: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 333. Further reference will be made by page number in parenthesis.

says: 'Remember, you are not to trust me in morals now. But I ought to remind you that it will be wrong-doing in the eyes of civilisation – Western civilisation, that is to say' (p. 343). Angel is already aware that the 'notions' and 'habits' of the country to which he is going will be very different from those he is leaving, but it is only after he has spent some time in Brazil and suffered from disillusionment and disease that he begins to completely rethink his morality: 'During this time of absence he had mentally aged a dozen years...Having long discredited the old systems of mysticism, he now began to discredit the old appraisements of morality. He thought they wanted readjusting. Who was the moral man? Still more pertinently, who was the moral woman?' (p. 421). Angel begins to re-examine his treatment of Tess and the possibility that he has been judging her as a result of circumstances inflicted upon her rather than according to her own will and 'impulses'. He travels with a stranger to whom he relates the facts of his marriage. This man 'had sojourned in many more lands and among many more peoples than Angel; to his cosmopolitan mind such deviations from the social norm, so immense to domesticity, were no more than are the irregularities of vale and mountain-chain to the whole terrestrial curve' (p. 422). The man becomes ill and dies and Angel realises that he has learned more from their discussions than from 'all the reasoned ethics of the philosophers. His own parochialism made him ashamed by its contrast' (p. 422). As with Swithin St Cleeve, these new ways of thinking are linked with residence in a colonial or postcolonial country, and for Angel they are intensified by conversing with someone who has experienced widely differing cultures and belief systems and is not confined by the strict moral code to which Angel has adhered.

The concept of the civilised imperial country bringing civilisation to primitive peoples is challenged here, as Hardy was later to do in *Jude the Obscure* when Sue

Bridehead turns this concept on its head by observing: ‘When people of a later age look back upon the barbarous customs and superstitions of the times that we have the unhappiness to live in, what will they say!’ (p. 226). Hardy was to echo these sentiments in a letter to Arnold Bennett at the end of the First World War: ‘I do not think a world in which such fiendishness is possible to be worth the saving. Better let Western “Civilisation” perish, and the black or yellow races have a chance’ (CL, V, 278). Sue actually refers to herself as being ‘a sort of negation of’ (p. 152) civilisation and might even be perceived as the colonialist missionary in reverse, attempting to bring true, ‘natural’ values to her own civilisation, and when she fails, observing ‘Who were we, to think we could act as pioneers!’ (p. 371).

Angel’s growing recognition of the importance of judging Tess by her ‘impulses’ rather than by the circumstances surrounding her is also echoed in *Jude* when Phillotson finds that,

To indulge one’s instinctive and uncontrolled sense of justice and right, was not...permitted with impunity in an old civilisation like ours. It was necessary to act under an acquired and cultivated sense of the same, if you wished to enjoy an average share of comfort and honour; and to let crude loving-kindness take care of itself (p. 379).

In Brazil Angel acquires an instinctive ‘sense of justice and right’ and hopefully learns, as Sue Bridehead does, that ‘the social moulds civilisation fits us into have no more relation to our actual shapes than the conventional shapes of the constellations have to the real star-patterns’ (p. 215).

Colonisers at Home and Abroad

Put simply, overseas expansion and the imperialism which accompanied it played a vital role in maintaining property and privilege at home in an age of social upheaval and revolution. The alliance was equally involved in promoting abroad sets of like-minded rulers and congenial states which were designed to be

dependable allies in a global campaign to subdue republicanism and democracy by demonstrating the superiority of the liberal ideal of improvement.³⁰

The theme of colonisation recurs throughout Hardy's works, and could even be said to be one of the main themes of his writings. Edward Said stresses 'the primacy of the geographical element' in imperialism, for 'the history of colonial servitude is inaugurated by loss of the locality to the outsider'.³¹ In Hardy's novels the colonisation of heathland, woodland and village by outsiders intent on pursuing their own interests, mirrors the colonisation being carried out during the same period by European imperial nations. In his introduction to the New Wessex edition of *Jude the Obscure*, Terry Eagleton says: 'Like the five bottles of sweets and three buns behind the oxidised panes of Drusilla Fawley's shop-window, Marygreen is a stale remnant, a plundered landscape denuded of its historical traditions [...] by the abstract imperatives of profit and utility.'³²

The extent to which a link exists between the process of colonisation taking place in distant lands during the nineteenth century and processes occurring at the same time within Britain is a matter of much debate. Here I hope to demonstrate how, in the words of Daniel Bivona, 'Hardy is the one English writer of the late nineteenth century to fully examine in his fiction the significantly subversive effect of rapid historical change in the present', showing the disruptive effect of such change on traditional communities, and depicting 'a society committed to colonizing its rural lower classes as it is colonizing the dark races of the world'.³³

³⁰ P.J.Cain and A.G.Hopkins, *British Imperialism 1688-2000* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2002), p. 56. Hereafter cited as *British Imperialism*.

³¹ *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 271.

³² Terry Eagleton, 'Introduction,' Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure* (London: Macmillan, 1974), p. 15.

³³ *Desire and Contradiction*, p. 93.

The relationship between knowledge and power, later to be examined by Michel Foucault in works such as *Discipline and Punish*³⁴ and *The Will to Knowledge*³⁵, is represented in *Jude the Obscure* by Christminster, the seat of power and learning from which Jude, as a representative of the rural lower classes, is excluded. Foucault claimed that an increase in knowledge or intensification of discourse about matters concerning individual members of society was an exercise of power, which resulted in an increase in social control over individuals and their separation into particular groups or categories. In this way individuals who do not abide by the social norms of society are excluded or marginalised. Foucault talks of ‘a battle that has to be waged not between races, but by a race that is portrayed as the one true race, the race that holds power and is entitled to define the norm [...] against those who deviate from that norm’. This State racism is ‘a racism that society will direct against itself, against its own elements and its own products’.³⁶ Foucault believed that state institutions such as the army, the church, the family, schools and universities were instruments of power and ‘acted as factors of segregation and social hierarchization’³⁷. In *Jude the Obscure* Hardy vividly portrays these ‘instruments of power’ being used by institutions in Britain against its own citizens, but in a similar way boundaries were being erected by the imperial powers to exclude and alienate the inhabitants of the countries they dominated, and it was, of course, the same people, products of the public schools and ancient Universities, who were responsible.

³⁴ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* [1975], trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1977).

³⁵ Michel Foucault, *The Will to Knowledge: Vol. 1: The History of Sexuality* [1976], trans. Robert Hurley (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1979).

³⁶ Michel Foucault, *Society Must be Defended* [1997], trans. David Macey (Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2003), p. 61.

³⁷ Michel Foucault, *The Will to Knowledge, I* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1979), p. 141.

After arriving in Christminster, Jude walks around the ancient college buildings and realises that:

Only a wall divided him from those happy young contemporaries of his with whom he shared a common mental life; men who had nothing to do from morning to night but to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest. Only a wall - but what a wall! (p. 86).

Again, when Sue and Jude return to Christminster, they find lodgings in a house backing onto one of the colleges 'within which life was so far removed from that of the people in the lane as if it had been on opposite sides of the globe; yet only a thickness of wall divided them'(p. 348). Many of those on the other side of the wall, the inhabitants of the ancient university, would, of course, go out to serve the Empire on the 'opposite sides of the globe', and remain as separated and removed from the inhabitants of the countries which they occupied as they had been from the inhabitants of the lane in Christminster.

A particular contribution to the debate on the relationship between imperial expansion and affairs at home has been made by P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins in their book *British Imperialism 1688-2000*, in which they demonstrate the importance of the link between the British economy and the powerful group of wealthy 'gentlemanly capitalists' at its head, and Britain's presence abroad. They emphasise the role of the public schools and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in creating gentlemen instilled with 'the values of order, duty and loyalty' and an enthusiasm for the values and symbols of the past. This ranged from an

enthusiastic construction of medieval castles and gothic churches to the elaboration of a complex etiquette of deportment and manners devised to separate gentlemen from players and calculated to subdue, by the ordeal of social humiliation, those who attempted to rise above their station...³⁸

³⁸ *British Imperialism*, p. 45.

At the beginning of *Jude the Obscure* we are told that in the village of

Marygreen:

Many of the thatched and dormered dwelling-houses had been pulled down of late years, and many trees felled on the green. Above all the original church, hump-backed, wood-turreted, and quaintly hipped, had been taken down... and in place of it a tall new building of modern Gothic design, unfamiliar to English eyes, had been erected on a new piece of ground by a certain obliterator of historic records who had run down from London and back in a day (p. 6).

The 'ordeal of social humiliation' is well-illustrated in the same novel when Jude goes to visit the composer of a hymn, which he had particularly admired when singing in the choir of a village church. He has been told that the composer 'was brought up and educated in Christminster traditions' (p. 202), and this leads Jude to believe that he will be a man of sympathy and understanding, with whom he will have much in common. During their conversation however, Jude soon becomes aware that the musician is mainly concerned with the money he might make from publishing his music, and is considering giving up music altogether to enter the wine trade which will provide him with a higher income: 'They talked a little longer, but constrainedly, for when the musician found that Jude was a poor man his manner changed from what it had been while Jude's appearance and address deceived him as to his position and pursuits' (p. 204).

It is of some significance that Hardy's 'obliterator of historic records' had 'run down from London and back', for Cain and Hopkins emphasise the importance of the metropolis in developing their theory linking financial and traditional sources of power. The service occupations which were 'compatible with the gentlemanly ideal'³⁹ were concentrated in London, and the bankers and merchants of the City were close to the centres of political power. This provided them with access, through

³⁹ *British Imperialism*, p. 40.

a network of contacts, to knowledge relating to imperial adventures, which resulted in the making of large fortunes from overseas investments. This financial interest in empire was very important in promoting imperial expansion.

The connection between the metropolitan capital and the colonies it controlled, in terms of its 'institutions, economic, social and cultural composition'⁴⁰ is discussed at some length by Anthony King. He cites financial and commercial institutions such as banks, insurance, shipping offices etc. that 'benefit disproportionately from the international investment and related functions of the colonial connections' and 'commercial and residential property developed from colonially derived investments'.⁴¹ All these institutions profiting from colonial expansion were headed, as Cain and Hopkins have shown, by the gentlemanly capitalists, who continued to exert power from the metropolis over the rural populations of England in the same way as they did over the inhabitants of the colonies. This financial power resulted, according to King, from 'the success of economic colonisation' which 'inflates in particular the monetary economy of the metropolitan capital [...] far beyond the requirements of the local population'.⁴²

In *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, the dominance of London over rural England is emphasised when Angel and Tess take the milk cans from the dairy to meet the London train at the railway station: 'Modern life stretched out its steam feeler to this point three or four times a day, touched the native existences, and quickly withdrew its feeler again as if what it touched had been uncongenial' (p. 251). This rapid contact, sufficient only to collect the products necessary to maintain the life of the city, has a parallel in the Londoner in *Jude* who runs down from London and back in

⁴⁰ Anthony D. King, *Global Cities: Post-Imperialism and the Internationalization of London* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 60. Hereafter cited as *Global Cities*.

⁴¹ *Global Cities*, p. 69.

⁴² *Global Cities*, p. 61.

a day, presumably to oversee the profit-making developments in the village of Marygreen. At the railway station Tess herself, illuminated by the light of the engine, symbolises this relationship between country and city, for ‘no object could have looked more foreign to the gleaming cranks and wheels than this unsophisticated girl’ (p. 251) in the remote countryside. The picture Hardy paints of Tess with ‘round bare arms [...] rainy face and hair’ and ‘the suspended attitude of a friendly leopard’ (p. 251), encourages the impression that we are witnessing a confrontation between the civilised metropolis and the native colonial subject. Tess remarks that Londoners will drink their milk: ‘strange people that we have never seen [...] noble men and noble women, ambassadors and centurions, ladies and tradeswomen [...] who don’t know anything of us, and where it comes from’ (p. 251). In the words of Raymond Williams, ‘the traditional relationship between city and country was [...] rebuilt on an international scale. Distant lands became the rural areas of industrial Britain, with heavy consequent effects on its own surviving rural areas’.⁴³ Just as the cities drew on the rural areas for food supplies so did the ‘developed’ industrial countries draw on the ‘underdeveloped’, mainly agricultural countries for food and raw materials.

Raymond Williams actually anticipates some of the ideas of Cain and Hopkins when he points out that throughout the nineteenth century an increasing proportion of the land was transferred to wealthy landowners or ‘gentlemanly capitalists’, and that this ‘landowning class required dependence, in social and political quite as much as directly economic terms’.⁴⁴ This system of politically dominant landowners and dependent labouring poor was not restricted to English society but formed the model for the relationship between Britain and her colonies in the nineteenth century. In the words of Raymond Williams there was an ‘extension to the whole world of that

⁴³ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 280. Hereafter cited as *Country and City*.

⁴⁴ *Country and City*, p. 183.

division of functions which in the nineteenth century was a division of functions within a single state'.⁴⁵

Cain and Hopkins reinforce this view when they say that the close association between the landed gentry and government social and economic policy shaped British society, which was characterised by the 'persistence of marked inequalities of wealth, status and class; the inculcation of a value system that endorsed privilege and encouraged deference; the creation of an empire that benefited some groups more than others'.⁴⁶ They also quote the work of Deslandes,⁴⁷ who they say 'unravelling the process by which undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge defined themselves as Britons, Protestant Christians, imperial rulers and gentlemen during the period 1850-1920' (p. 9). They assert that 'the imperial mission was the export version of the gentlemanly order', and that 'the empire was a superb arena for gentlemanly endeavour, the ultimate testing ground for the idea of responsible progress, for the battle against evil, for the performance of duty, and for the achievement of honour'.⁴⁸

In the course of the nineteenth century the position of the landowning class began to be threatened by so-called 'disorderly forces within society',⁴⁹ but its role could be maintained in the colonial situation. Patrick Brantlinger discusses how 'the British found it increasingly difficult to think of themselves as inevitably progressive; they began worrying instead about the degeneration of their institutions, their culture, their racial "stock"'.⁵⁰ If the forces of barbarism could not be controlled

⁴⁵ *Country and City*, p. 279.

⁴⁶ *British Imperialism*, p. 11.

⁴⁷ Paul R. Deslandes, "'The Foreign Element': Newcomers and the Rhetoric of Race, Nation and Empire in 'Oxbridge' Undergraduate Culture, 1850-1920' in *Jour. Brit. Stud.*, 37, No.1, 1998, 54-90.

⁴⁸ *British Imperialism*, p. 47.

⁴⁹ Douglas Hewitt, *English Fiction of the Early Modern Period, 1890-1940* (Longman UK, 1988), p. 49.

⁵⁰ *Rule of Darkness*, p. 230.

within Britain, control could continue to be exerted in the colonies. Cain and Hopkins support this view when they say that:

the refurbished gentlemen who played the game overseas both expressed and reinforced the new forces emerging at home during a period of profound transformation. Not surprisingly, Britain's representatives abroad shared the social origins and values of their counterparts in the metropole. They took to paternalism as squires to the manner born, and they tried to recreate abroad the hierarchy which they were familiar with at home.⁵¹

As Daniel Bivona notes, this 'period of profound transformation' was powerfully depicted by Hardy in his novels, a period of 'rapid historical change' which threatened traditions and livelihoods in rural Britain.⁵²

The decline in power of the landowning class which resulted from various social, economic and political changes in the latter part of the nineteenth century is reflected throughout Hardy's fiction, but his novels also reflect the fact that the hierarchy and power structures created by this class were still very much in evidence and that the paternalism practiced by members of this class in the colonies was also still practiced at home.

In the novels Hardy presents a seemingly inconsistent view of the landed gentry and this ambiguity is particularly evident in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. In the first few pages of *Tess* her father, Jack Durbeyfield, is told by Parson Tringham that he is 'the lineal representative of the ancient and knightly family of the d'Urbervilles', but that this family is now extinct, 'gone down-gone under' (pp. 43-5).

When Tess tells Angel that she is a descendant of the ancient D'Urberville family, who are 'all gone to nothing' (p. 253), his reaction expresses Hardy's seeming ambiguity. Angel admits that he hates 'the aristocratic principle of blood before

⁵¹ *British Imperialism*, p. 48.

⁵² *Desire and Contradiction*, p. 93.

everything' (p. 253), but at the same time he is interested in and even excited by the news, realising that it will make Tess more acceptable to his family and to 'snobbish society' in general. He maintains that he 'should have been glad to know you to be descended exclusively from the long-suffering, dumb, unrecorded rank and file of the English nation, and not from the self-seeking few who made themselves powerful at the expense of the rest' (p. 253), but admits that these idealistic views can become corrupted in the face of society's attitudes. Hardy himself displays similar inconsistencies when describing his own family background. In the first few pages of *The Life* Hardy explains that his family on the paternal side were 'derived from the Jersey le Hardys' and that he 'often thought he would like to restore the 'le' to his name, and call himself 'Thomas le Hardy''.⁵³ He implies that among his ancestors were various influential people, including Thomas Hardy, captain of the Victory at Trafalgar. In his biography, Michael Millgate says that Hardy 'liked to think'⁵⁴ that he was descended from the le Hardy family of Jersey who came to Dorset in the late fifteenth century and that 'in the historical distance, beyond the reach of certainty, it was possible to discern, or to project, the outlines of family connections of a rather more distinguished kind'.⁵⁵ However, whilst these ancestors are a matter of pure conjecture, it is interesting to note that Hardy was eager to stress that his family was in a state of decline, and that these supposed forbears 'had the characteristics of an old family of spent social energies, that were revealed even in the Thomas Hardy of this memoir'.⁵⁶ As Millgate says, 'such links however vague, were important to Hardy in that they fed his sense of belonging to a family that had

⁵³ *Life*, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy, A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 4. Hereafter cited as Millgate.

⁵⁵ Millgate, p. 3.

⁵⁶ *Life*, p. 5.

come down in the world'.⁵⁷ It might be that the invention of illustrious forbears was made to impress Hardy's London society friends and to alleviate his acute awareness of his lowly origins, but it might also indicate the importance Hardy attached to the ancestral line and being able to trace the presence of one's family in a particular locality over a long period of time. He was disassociating himself from any link with the landed gentry by emphasising the decline and 'spent energy' of any such ancestors.

When Tess first enters the grounds of the d'Urberville's country estate she is surprised and somewhat disappointed to find a building of 'recent erection' (p. 77), a phrase recalling the 'new building of modern [...] design' (p. 6) which had replaced the old church in Marygreen in *Jude the Obscure*. Behind the new d'Urberville residence 'stretched [...] a truly venerable tract of forest land, one of the few remaining woodlands in England of undoubted primaeval date' (p. 77), but outsiders have entered and colonised the land just as the 'obliterator of historic records who had run down from London and back in a day' (p. 6) had colonised the village of Marygreen. The d'Urberville house has 'not an acre of troublesome land attached to it', and the ancient forest land of The Chase lies 'outside the immediate boundaries of the estate' (p. 77). In Adam Gussow's words this house is 'an imperial outpost plopped down on [...] "pseudocountryside" bordering The Chase,' and lacks the 'spiritual anchor in accumulated-knowledge-of-place which characterises Tess herself'.⁵⁸ Surveying the house Tess notices that 'everything looked like money – like the last coin issued from the Mint' (p. 77), and we learn that the d'Urberville name and land has been bought by a wealthy merchant from the North, who has

⁵⁷ Millgate, p. 4

⁵⁸ Adam Gussow, 'Dreaming Holmberry-Lipped Tess: Aboriginal Reverie and Spectatorial Desire in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*' in *Studies in the Novel*, 00393827, Winter 2000, Vol. 32, Issue 4, p. 5. Hereafter cited as Gussow.

‘decided to settle as a county man in the South of England’ (p. 78). Cain and Hopkins note that ‘the bourgeoisie’ of whom Alec d’Urberville’s father, the wealthy merchant, was undoubtedly a member, ‘were the main creators of wealth and the great driving force behind economic and social change; but ideologically and politically they were dependent upon the prestige of the landed classes’.⁵⁹ D’Urberville’s father had to buy the name of an ancient landed family to gain prestige, even though the family itself had declined, and like Hardy’s own supposed illustrious lineage, was virtually extinct. Cain and Hopkins make a clear distinction between ‘gentlemanly and industrial capital’: ‘The former set the cultural tone, was closer to the centre of power and was the dominant influence upon the expression of that power overseas.’⁶⁰ As a result ‘imperialism becomes one of the methods by which that elite can prosper and continually renew itself’.⁶¹ Obviously the d’Urberville family, like the le Hardys, had not prospered, but this may be due to Hardy’s possible concerns about ‘the consequences of allowing the true aristocracy of birth to mingle with the pseudo-aristocracy of wealth’.⁶² He attached great importance to the ancestral line, but would have had no sympathy with any institution which chose to exercise power through the acquisition of wealth, or, as Angel Clare says, ‘the self-seeking few who made themselves powerful at the expense of the rest’ (p. 253). Alec d’Urberville is, of course, the prime example of the ‘pseudo-aristocrat’ who uses his position of power and wealth to seduce and rape Tess, for, in the words of Adam Gussow, ‘a young woman, like virgin land, may be “developed” by a shrewd speculator’ and Alec gives Tess ‘the same “kiss of

⁵⁹ *British Imperialism*, p. 32.

⁶⁰ *British Imperialism*, p. 32.

⁶¹ *British Imperialism*, p. 33.

⁶² *British Imperialism*, p. 46.

mastery” his family has given the plot of land on which their business-sponsored pleasure-palace has been built’.⁶³

As she walks through the countryside, Tess appears to merge with the landscape through which she walks: ‘Thus Tess walks on; a figure which is part of the landscape’ (p. 355), her skin and clothes acquiring the colour and texture of her surroundings. In the desolate, drab fields of Flintcomb-Ash, the field in which Tess works ‘has a complexion without features, as if a face, from chin to brow, should be only an expanse of skin’, and the inanimate field and the human seem to be interchangeable, ‘the two girls crawling over the surface of the former like flies’ (p. 360).

In happier times, on her way to Talbothays dairy, Tess again blends with the landscape, ‘her hopes mingled with the sunshine in an ideal photosphere which surrounded her’ and ‘it was her best face physically that was now set against the south wind’ (p. 157). She stands ‘still upon the hemmed expanse of verdant flatness, like a fly on a billiard-table of indefinite length, and of no more consequence to the surroundings than that fly’ (p. 159). Adam Gussow comments on Tess’s ‘explicitly remarked continuity with the hills, dales, fields and photosphere of Wessex’, and that ‘Tess herself is a kind of numinous terrain, unwillingly mapped by male desire in a manner not wholly separable from the more general colonial project: a “virgin” harbour, like a pretty country girl, may seem to smile bewitchingly at the keen-eyed explorer who first encounters her’.⁶⁴ As Tess herself becomes inseparable from the countryside in which she walks, she, like the countryside, can be colonised by the outsider in search of power and possessions. It is significant that the rape of Tess occurs under ‘the primaeval yews and oaks of The Chase’ (p. 119), the oldest wood

⁶³ Gussow, p. 6.

⁶⁴ Gussow, p. 2.

in England, on the borders of which stands the intrusive, new Stoke-d'Urberville mansion.

The importance of landscape and ancestry in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* prompts Adam Gussow to draw parallels between Tess and the other inhabitants of Wessex, and the Australian Aborigines who seek through a sort of collective unconscious to achieve 'the power of mapping oneself onto and into numinous ancestral terrain'.⁶⁵ For the Aboriginal people the land was given form and features by their spirit ancestors or 'Sky Heroes'. They believe that the 'Sky Heroes' created rivers, mountains, trees, animals and all the other landmarks on earth, and then became incorporated into the forms which they had created. For the Australian Aborigines then, the landscape is intimately connected with their ancestors, just as for Tess 'every contour of the surrounding hills was as personal to her as that of her relatives' faces' (p. 75), and on her journey to the vale of the Great Dairies 'she felt akin to the landscape' (p. 156) because the tombs of her ancestors were in the church at Kingsbere, not far off from where she walked.

Throughout the nineteenth century aboriginal land was desecrated by the invading colonists, the aboriginal people being deprived of their ancestral territory and humiliated and destroyed. In *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* the ancient home of the d'Urbervilles is taken over by Alec's father, the outsider who removes all signs of the family from his modern estate, and whose son rapes and ultimately destroys one of the few remaining members of this family. At Flintcomb-Ash, where Tess toils on a barren and drear landscape, with 'not a tree within sight' and where there are 'large fields divided by hedges plashed to unrelieved levels' (p. 358), we learn that this barrenness has been brought about by an absentee-owner, who like the Australian

⁶⁵ Gussow, p. 2.

colonists has plundered the landscape for profit. This ‘curse of absentee ownership’ has reduced ‘all human connectedness-with-the-land to the productive configurations of mechanised labour’.⁶⁶ Gussow continues to say that ‘Hardy’s depiction of Greater Wessex reflects the more general historical displacement of Dorset’s rural population from the land – a displacement which helps explain the spiritual kinship between his fictionalised country-folk and the similarly uprooted Australian Aborigines’.⁶⁷ Gussow’s extended analogy between Hardy’s Wessex and Aboriginal Australia may be disputed, but it is an interesting analogy: and as Gussow himself says, his argument ‘is not for Hardy’s deliberate mapping of Aboriginal modes of religious belief onto the inhabitants of Wessex. It is, instead, for a series of striking parallels between the two communities [...] which throw the overarching plot of *Tess* in sharp relief’.⁶⁸

Although there is no evidence that Hardy had read widely on Aboriginal history and religious beliefs, it is of interest that an entry in *The Literary Notebooks* shows that at the beginning of 1888, shortly before he began to write *Tess*, Hardy had read an article in *The Spectator* speculating on the future development of Australia and containing the observation that ‘Aborigines will be but a memory in a century or two’.⁶⁹

The parallel which Gussow draws between the inhabitants of rural Wessex and Australian Aborigines is based on their shared history of displacement from traditional lands and occupations. This parallel may be extended to one between the entire rural population of England in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the inhabitants of the colonies which constituted the British Empire. The evidence for

⁶⁶ Gussow, p. 11.

⁶⁷ Gussow, p. 11

⁶⁸ Gussow, p. 2

⁶⁹ ‘The Next Centenary of Australia’, *Spectator*, LXI (28 Jan 1888) 112-13, in Lennart A. Bjork, ed., *The Literary Notebooks of Thomas Hardy* Vol.I (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1985), p. 228.

this extends far beyond a mere analogical connection between the processes occurring in rural England and the colonies, but actually reveals that the two processes were the same, carried out by the same people for the same political and above all the same economic reasons. In this chapter I have discussed the work of various writers who contribute to this view. Cain and Hopkins describe the imperial mission as being the ‘export version of the gentlemanly order’,⁷⁰ with imperialism becoming ‘one of the methods by which that elite (the English landed gentry) can prosper and continually renew itself’.⁷¹ Anthony King discusses the financial power which resulted from the ‘success of economic colonisation’,⁷² and long before these writers Raymond Williams had talked of the way in which ‘distant lands became the rural areas of industrial Britain’.⁷³ Patrick Brantlinger shows how the landowning classes were able to continue exerting power and economic control in the colonies when this was becoming more difficult at home and Daniel Bivona maintains that Thomas Hardy was the one English writer of the late nineteenth century to fully examine this period of profound transformation in British society. In his essay ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ Hardy describes how previous life-holders of property were forced to leave the villages when their previous occupations became redundant and their cottages were pulled down. If they could not find employment on the landowner’s estate they would ‘have to seek refuge in the boroughs’⁷⁴ and contribute to the general drift of the rural population to the large towns and cities where they became wage labourers. George Wotton describes this as a ‘colonising civilisation

⁷⁰ *British Imperialism*, p. 47.

⁷¹ *British Imperialism*, p. 33.

⁷² *Global Cities*, p. 61.

⁷³ *Country and City*, p. 280.

⁷⁴ Thomas Hardy, ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ in Harold Orel ed., *Thomas Hardy’s Personal Writings* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1967), p. 188. Hereafter cited as *Dorsetshire Labourer*.

which progressively destroyed the world of the artisan and the small producer',⁷⁵ and maintains that 'the English rural worker was dispossessed as ruthlessly as the North American Indian'.⁷⁶

Further light may be thrown on the connection between capitalism and colonialism by an examination of the debates occurring at the end of the nineteenth century between traditional Marxists such as Ernest Belfort Bax and revisionists such as Eduard Bernstein. Bernstein had argued in favour of the introduction of 'capitalist civilisation' to 'barbaric and semi- barbaric races',⁷⁷ as a necessary intermediate stage on the path to socialism. Bax, on the other hand, believed that colonialism would prevent or considerably delay the defeat of capitalism in those countries where it had superseded feudalism, for he considered that 'the present system of production and distribution is breaking down throughout the civilised world by its own weight, and that its only chance lies in annexing industrially and commercially [...] the outlying territories of the earth's surface'. In opposition to Bernstein, Bax preferred 'the rudeness of primitive barbarism to the squalor of modern civilisation',⁷⁸ which he regarded as 'a curse and an evil'. Bernstein accuses Bax of Romanticism for holding these views and Hardy has often been accused of similar sentiments, that is, of presenting 'a pastoral myth of rural England'. Hardy, however, was well aware of rural hardship and poverty as is demonstrated in his essay 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', but it is in his reaction to this hardship that he does seem to share a common position with Bax. He recognised that the life-holder

⁷⁵ George Wotton, *Thomas Hardy: Towards a Materialist Criticism* (Goldenbridge: Gill and Macmillan Ltd., 1985), p. 77. Hereafter cited as Wotton.

⁷⁶ Wotton, p. 18.

⁷⁷ Eduard Bernstein, 'Amongst the Philistines: A Rejoinder to Belfort Bax', *Justice*, 14 November 1896 in H.Tudor and J.M.Tudor eds. *Marxism and Social Democracy: The Revisionist Debate 1896 – 1898* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 66. Hereafter cited as Tudor and Tudor.

⁷⁸ Ernest Belfort Bax, 'Our German Fabian Convert; or Socialism According to Bernstein', *Justice*, 7 November 1896 in Tudor and Tudor, p. 63.

with his tied cottage and his plot of land was happier than the wage labourer for 'wherever a mode of supporting life is neither noxious nor absolutely inadequate, there springs up happiness, and will spring up happiness, of some sort or other'.⁷⁹ Even if desperately poor these people were, in the main, working for themselves and not as slave labourers for absentee land owners whose sole intention was to make profit from the land and treat the workers, like Tess at Flintcomb-Ash, as cogs in an industrial machine. Bax similarly saw that Imperialism with the accompanying 'capitalist form of economy' would result in 'the simultaneous suppression of the indigenous agricultural economy and civilisation', leading to 'the subjugation of primitive races for the purpose of exploiting them in mines, railway-building and later in factories, the expulsion of natives from their lands, the seizure of their livestock, etc.'⁸⁰ (References to 'primitive' or 'barbaric' peoples were, of course, characteristic of the times in which Bax was writing and this will be discussed more fully in Chapter four). The processes described by Bax are identical to those described by Hardy in 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', and in the same essay Hardy also warns of the danger that might result from the enforced movement of large numbers of unemployed rural poor to the towns and cities when he says that 'every one of these banished people imbibes a sworn enmity to the existing order of things, and not a few of them, far from becoming merely honest Radicals, degenerate into Anarchists, waiters on chance, to whom danger to the State, the town – nay, the street they live in, is a welcomed opportunity' (p. 189). It is tempting to speculate here that Hardy is voicing the Marxist belief that the impoverished, labouring proletariat would eventually rise up against their capitalist masters just as Bernstein and his fellow Socialists believed that the inhabitants of the colonies would sooner or

⁷⁹ *Dorsetshire Labourer*, p. 169.

⁸⁰ Ernest Belfort Bax, 'Colonial Policy and Chauvinism', *Neue Zeit*, 21 December 1897, in *Tudor and Tudor*, p. 140.

later rise up against their capitalist, colonialist rulers, and that colonialism was a necessary stage in the revolutionary teleology. Hardy, of course, as Peter Widdowson points out, was not a 'closet revolutionary',⁸¹ but he can certainly be seen as a 'subversive writer', who questioned the very structures of established society. George Wotton refers to Hardy's 'ambiguous and contradictory relation to the history of his time', a conflict very much related to his life situation and his ability to see things from many points of view.⁸²

It is in his relationship to the aristocracy or 'gentlemanly capitalists' that this conflict is demonstrated most fully, for Hardy's life was divided between rural Dorset and London, and it was in the metropolis that he mixed socially with the landed gentry, most of whom were connected in some way with the Imperial mission, a notable example being 'his friend George Curzon' who became Viceroy of India in 1899. I suggest, however, that it is through his writings that Hardy the revolutionary may be discerned, the Hardy who desired to 'break up the present pernicious conventions' (*CL*, III, 238) of society and who would have supported the colonial subjects of that society in their struggles against oppression, just as he supported through his writings the struggles of those oppressed by the same society at home.

⁸¹ Peter Widdowson, *Hardy in History: A Study in Literary Sociology* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 198.

⁸² Wotton, p. 111.

Chapter 2 Empires: The Rise and Fall of Imperial Powers

I was thinking of very old times, when the Romans first came here, nineteen hundred years ago – the other day [...] Imagine the feelings of a commander of a fine [...] trireme in the Mediterranean [...] Imagine him here – the very end of the world, a sea the colour of lead, a sky the colour of smoke, [...] sand-banks, marshes, forests, savages, - precious little to eat fit for a civilised man, nothing but Thames water to drink – cold, fog, tempests, disease, exile, and death – death skulking in the air, in the water, in the bush.¹

In the previous chapter I explored the link between processes occurring in the colonies during the latter half of the nineteenth century and processes occurring in rural England at the same time. Gussow² compares the displacement of rural populations from the land with the uprooting of Australian Aborigines by invading colonists, Wotton³ similarly compares the plight of the English rural worker with that of the North American Indian, and Terry Eagleton speaks of the rural landscape, which provides the setting for *Jude the Obscure*, as being plundered for ‘profit and utility’.⁴ These processes, as I go on to discuss, may collectively be referred to as colonialism, a term which is synonymous with imperialism for some writers. Williams and Chrisman⁵ attribute some of the blame for this confusion to J.A.Hobson, who in his classic work *Imperialism*, published in 1902, failed to discriminate between the two terms, a tendency adopted by many liberal writers eager to emphasise the role of corporate power in all cases of colonisation.

¹ Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* [1902] (London: Penguin Books, 1973), pp. 8-9

² Adam Gussow, ‘Dreaming Holmberry-Lipped Tess: Aboriginal Reverie and Spectatorial Desire in *Tess of the D’Urbervilles*’ in *Studies in the Novel*, 00393827, Winter 2000, Vol. 32, Issue 4, p. 5.

³ George Wotton, *Thomas Hardy: Towards a Materialist Criticism* (Goldenbridge: Gill and Macmillan Ltd., 1985). Hereafter cited as Wotton.

⁴ Terry Eagleton in ‘Introduction’ to Thomas Hardy *Jude the Obscure* (Macmillan London Ltd., 1974), p. 15.

⁵ Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds., *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 1994), p. 1-2. Hereafter cited as Williams and Chrisman

In this chapter and the next I explore the difference between these terms and demonstrate how Hardy's deep interest in empires and emperors, particularly in the Roman Empire and the Emperor Napoleon, is linked in his writings with the theme of colonisation.

The Marxist Belfort Bax argued in 1896 that colonialism was the means by which the capitalist system could prolong its existence and that this combination of colonialism and exploitative capitalism was the basis of imperialism.⁶ In 1916 Lenin wrote: 'If it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism.'⁷ Benita Parry seems to agree with this and proposes the following definition of imperialism:

capitalism's accelerated penetration of the non-capitalist zones, a process that gained momentum in the late nineteenth century, consolidated the interdependence between metropole and colony and issued in the creation of a world economic system.⁸

She sees a progression from colonialism to imperialism, commencing with the conquest and control of other people's land, progressing through 'authoritarian rule by a metropolitan nation-state, to the subsequent industrial-military-economic interventions'⁹ which lead to full imperialism. Williams and Chrisman, like Parry, stress the importance of discriminating between colonialism and imperialism, making the point that historians have put forward many reasons for colonial expansion other than simply economic ones. They see colonialism as 'a phase in the history of imperialism, which is now best understood as the globalisation of the capitalist mode of production, its penetration of previously non-capitalist regions of

⁶ Ernest Belfort Bax, 'Our German Fabian Convert; or Socialism According to Bernstein', *Justice*, 7, November 1896, in H. Tudor and J.M. Tudor, eds., *Marxism and Social Democracy: The Revisionist Debate 1896-1898* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1918), p. 63.

⁷ V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers, 1939), p. 88.

⁸ Benita Parry, *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 108. Hereafter cited as *Postcolonial Studies*.

⁹ *Postcolonial Studies*, p. 108.

the world, and destruction of pre- or non-capitalist forms of social organisation'.¹⁰

These interpretations of imperialism fit well with Cain and Hopkins' theory, discussed in the previous chapter, of the 'gentlemanly capitalists', who were, at the end of the nineteenth century, extending their economic power from the metropolis to the colonies when this power seemed to be declining at home. However, difficulties arise when applying these definitions to pre-nineteenth century empires where the intention seems to be more an extension of power and influence, usually through the use of military force, and the exploitation of the colonised land as a source of raw materials. It seems legitimate to retain the use of the term 'empire' to describe a group of countries ruled over by a single monarch or emperor, as in the case of the Roman Empire, whilst reserving the term 'imperialism' for the new type of Western imperialism developed during the nineteenth century.

In Hardy's novel *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, the town of Casterbridge is pervaded by reminders of the Romans and their occupation of the town and surrounding countryside some fifteen hundred years previously. In his description of the town Hardy suggests that Casterbridge still retains the characteristics of its Roman past: 'Casterbridge announced old Rome in every street, alley and precinct. It looked Roman, bespoke the art of Rome, concealed dead men of Rome.'¹¹ Michael Valdez Moses notes that 'in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* Hardy often seems particularly anxious to highlight the antique Roman heritage of the city', and he proceeds to make a comparison between mid-nineteenth century Casterbridge and the 'polis' of ancient Greece and Rome, claiming that like the classical polis,

¹⁰ Williams and Chrisman, p. 2.

¹¹ Thomas Hardy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge* [1886] (London: Penguin Classics, 1985), p. 140. Further reference will be made by page number in parenthesis.

Casterbridge has ‘virtual political, economic and social autonomy’.¹² For Roman Casterbridge this autonomy enjoyed by the local administrators was a natural result of its remoteness from the imperial capital, and in the mid-nineteenth century rural, agricultural towns like Casterbridge were similarly distanced from the metropolis which was reaching out to the expanding empire. Although power over political matters was limited, the Mayor and Corporation had considerable power over social and economic matters, and before the repeal of the Corn Laws the prosperity of the community depended very much on powerful local merchants like Michael Henchard.

Moses describes Hardy’s novel as being a kind of ‘historical palimpsest’, each period of history being built upon the last, and the remains of preceding periods being easily visible just below the surface. Hardy describes how common it was to find the bones of Roman soldiers lying as they were buried just a foot or two below the surface, and how ‘Mrs Henchard’s dust mingled with the dust of women who lay ornamented with glass hair-pins and amber necklaces, and men who held in their mouths coins of Hadrian, Posthumus, and the Constantines’ (p. 204). Hardy had personal knowledge of these finds, for when the foundations of his Dorchester house, Max Gate, were being dug, three Roman skeletons were found together with urns and hair ornaments. Hardy describes this find in a speech to the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club in 1884, and evokes the picture of a Roman family lying in their ‘isolated resting-place’ near the roadside, far from their native land, ‘a humble Colonial imitation, possibly, of the system of sepulture along the Appian Way’.¹³

¹² Michael Valdez Moses, *The Novel and the Globalization of Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 33, 37. Hereafter cited as Moses.

¹³ Thomas Hardy, ‘Some Romano-British Relics Found at Max Gate, Dorchester’ [1890], in *Thomas Hardy’s Personal Writings* ed. Harold Orel (USA: University of Kansas Press, 1966), p. 191.

The close association made by Hardy between Mrs Henchard's remains and the personal objects from the Roman past are an example of the importance he attached to those artefacts which provide a connection between people living in different periods of historical time. This theme of embodied history is present in many of the poems, as in 'Old Furniture':

I see the hands of the generations
That owned each shiny familiar thing
In play on its knobs and indentations,
And with its ancient fashioning
Still dallying: (CP, 485)

It is important, however, to recognise a distinction between objects which have been owned and handled by successive generations, often with personal family associations, and historical objects which have lain hidden in the ground with no emotional connection to the generations walking over the ground above them. Critics such as J.Hillis Miller suggest a supernatural component in some aspects of Hardy's use of artefacts:

The people who played on the instruments, or used the old furniture, or lived in the old house have instilled their lives into the physical objects they have used, so transforming them that the objects remain permeated with their presence and can liberate them in afteryears...¹⁴

In his poem 'The Strange House' Hardy does suggest this supernatural element when he says that those once living in the house 'may have imprinted their dreams on its walls' (CP, 580), and in a diary entry of 1881 he writes of 'infinite trying to reconcile a scientific view of life with the emotional and spiritual'.¹⁵

In Hardy's talk to the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club he does take a scientific and objective approach in his description of the Roman remains found at Max Gate and wonders at the unconcern of the local people for these

¹⁴ J.Hillis Miller, 'The Mayor of Casterbridge, The Persistence of the Past, and the Dance of Desire' in Julian Wolfreys ed., *New Casebooks: The Mayor of Casterbridge* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), p. 22. Hereafter cited as Hillis Miller.

¹⁵ *Life*, p. 148.

remains: 'one is struck with the fact that little has been done towards piecing together and reconstructing these evidences into an unmutilated whole'.¹⁶

In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* he talks of the local inhabitants who live their lives surrounded by evidence of a perished empire, and with more than a touch of irony he explains the nonchalant attitude of a modern day resident on finding Roman remains in his garden: 'They had lived so long ago, their time was so unlike the present, their hopes and motives were so widely removed from ours, that between them and the living there seemed to stretch a gulf too wide for even a spirit to pass' (p. 140). However, he later suggests that the spirits of Hadrian's soldiers have indeed been fleetingly seen on the slopes of the Amphitheatre by local people dozing there in the sun, and leaves the reader to decide whether these are real spirits or simply the product of over-imaginative minds. J. Hillis Miller maintains that 'the past embodied in the physical scene has a coercive power. It creates a complex cultural environment made of the persistence of the past generations'.¹⁷ Although, as Hardy observes in his novel, the inhabitants of Casterbridge seem to be unaware of these past generations beneath their feet, their present day concerns lying uppermost in their conscious minds, it seems unlikely that they are completely unaffected by reminders of the distant past in their immediate surroundings. I also suggest that the 'coercive power' of the Roman remains is used by Hardy in this novel and in his Rome poems to make a link between the Roman Empire and more recent empires, and between the subjugation of native peoples and the colonisation of the countryside at the end of the nineteenth century.

In *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, as well as reminders of the Romans there are also references to the 'tumuli and earth forts' (p. 152) of the native tribes who were

¹⁶ Thomas Hardy, 'Some Romano-British Relics found at Max Gate, Dorchester' [1890], in Harold Orel, ed., *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings* (The University of Kansas Press, 1966), p. 194.

¹⁷ Hillis Miller, p. 23.

subdued and colonised by the invading armies. In his short story *A Tryst at an Ancient Earthwork*, Hardy describes how a local archaeologist carries out an illegal dig at a hill fort near Dorchester, identified as Maiden Castle, and discovers that 'it is not a Celtic stronghold exclusively, but also Roman'.¹⁸ About twenty years after this story was written archaeological evidence was indeed found of the storming of Maiden Castle, a hill fort just outside Dorchester, by Vespasian and his Roman troops in 43AD as they made their way through the west of England intent on subduing the local Celtic tribe, the Durotriges.¹⁹

Throughout Hardy's novel there are constant reminders that Casterbridge and the surrounding countryside have been occupied by representatives of a foreign empire, or as Paul Niemeyer puts it, 'Casterbridge's history is tied up with conquest, subjugation and control over "native" elements.'²⁰ This observation parallels that of Williams and Chrisman when discussing the distinctions between colonialism and imperialism, for in their view colonialism is 'the conquest and direct control of other people's land',²¹ and only develops into true imperialism when accompanied by exploitative capitalism, a phenomenon associated with the late nineteenth century.

There is much historical evidence to indicate that the native Celts were regarded as 'barbarians' by the invading Romans. Tacitus, writing in his biography of Agricola, a governor of Roman Britain, says 'who the first inhabitants of Britain were, whether natives or immigrants, remains obscure; one must remember we are dealing with barbarians'.²² The attitude of the Roman invaders to the local Celtic

¹⁸ Thomas Hardy, 'A Tryst at an Ancient Earthwork' [1885] in *A Changed Man* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1984), p. 139.

¹⁹ See Sir Mortimer Wheeler *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1951), for an account of excavations made 1934-7.

²⁰ Paul Niemeyer, *Seeing Hardy* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2003), p. 200. Hereafter cited as *Seeing Hardy*.

²¹ Williams and Chrisman, p. 2.

²² Tacitus, 'Agricola' in *Tacitus on Britain and Germany*, trans. H. Mattingly (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1948), p. 61. Hereafter cited as Tacitus, *Agricola*.

tribes they sought to subjugate bears some resemblance to the attitude of the visitor from London to the farm-labourers of Dorset as described by Hardy in *The Dorsetshire Labourer*,²³ and indeed to the attitude of any coloniser to the native inhabitants of the land which they are colonising. In Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, Marlow, before relating his tale of his voyage into the heart of Africa, imagines the Roman army sailing up the River Thames some nineteen hundred years before and landing in the alien and mysterious British countryside: 'There's no initiation either into such mysteries. He has to live in the midst of the incomprehensible, which is also detestable.'²⁴ In *The Dorsetshire Labourer* Hardy uses surprisingly similar words when discussing the reaction of the visitor from London on entering the home of a rural farm-labourer: 'at first, the ideas, the modes, and the surroundings generally, would be puzzling – even impenetrable; or if in a measure penetrable, would seem to have little meaning.'²⁵ In both cases the visitor faces the unknown with apprehension and suspicion, and this suspicion is to a greater or lesser extent linked with fear of 'the Other', the uncivilised or barbaric. A similar attitude in rural France is described by Emile Zola in his contemporaneous novel *The Earth*. The farmer Hourdequin describes how the schoolmaster calls his pupils 'savages and barbarians',²⁶ making them ashamed of their rural way of life. He believes that the education system has filled young people with 'resentment against the land', speeding up emigration to the towns with resultant depopulation of the countryside.

One way in which the colonisers may attempt to overcome their fear of the colonised is to coerce them into becoming more like themselves, and language plays an important part in this. Tacitus explains how Agricola 'trained the sons of the

²³ Thomas Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer' [1883], in *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings* ed. Harold Orel (USA: The University of Kansas Press, 1966). Hereafter cited as *Dorsetshire Labourer*.

²⁴ Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* [1902] (London: Penguin Books, 1973), p. 9.

²⁵ *Dorsetshire Labourer*, p. 170.

²⁶ Emile Zola, *The Earth* [1887] (Penguin Books, 1980), p. 155.

chiefs in the liberal arts' and 'the result was that in place of distaste for the Latin language came a passion to command it'.²⁷ In *The Dorsetshire Labourer* Hardy says that the visitor to a farm-labouring community would initially think the language to be 'a vile corruption of cultivated speech',²⁸ although it was in fact a true language with its own grammar and rules. However, as an increasing number of children attended the National Schools they would 'make a sad hash of their talk' and 'would mix the printed tongue as taught therein with the unwritten, dying, Wessex English that they had learnt of their parents, the result of this [...] being a composite language without rule or harmony'.²⁹ Tess, of course, 'spoke two languages; the dialect at home [...] ordinary English abroad and to persons of quality'.³⁰

Hardy speaks of 'unwritten' Wessex English, suggesting a language that was mainly transmitted orally through stories, poems and songs. The Celtic languages were also mainly unwritten, history and traditions being transmitted orally through the medium of verse and song. To the Romans this lack of a written language indicated an uncivilised society, an attitude which ignored completely the advanced skills needed to memorise and transmit vast amounts of information from one generation to the next. A written language is of course important in transmitting accepted knowledge and received cultural values, and is therefore a powerful tool for those who seek to control groups in society who would previously have been outside their reach. The learning of Latin by the Celts and standard English by the rural inhabitants of Dorset would enable them to be assimilated into the accepted culture. Tacitus makes an apposite comment when discussing the way in which many of the Celts readily accepted the Roman way of life: 'They spoke of such novelties as

²⁷ Tacitus, *Agricola*, p. 72.

²⁸ *Dorsetshire Labourer*, p. 170.

²⁹ *Dorsetshire Labourer*, p. 170.

³⁰ Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* [1891] (London: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 58.

‘civilisation’, when really they were only a feature of enslavement.’³¹ Robert Young, in his book *Colonial Desire*, reinforces this view when he says:

It is significant that compulsory national education was introduced in Britain in the late nineteenth century, for its rationale shared much of the spirit of colonialism. The inferior races, at home and abroad, had to be civilised and acculturated into the ideological dynamics of the nation.³²

In her book *Masks of Conquest*, Gauri Viswanathan makes a similar point in the context of colonial India under British rule. She aims to demonstrate that ‘the discipline of English came into its own in an age of colonialism’ and that:

no serious account of its growth and development can afford to ignore the imperial mission of educating and civilising colonial subjects in the literature and thought of England, a mission that in the long run served to strengthen Western cultural hegemony in enormously complex ways.³³

In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* Hardy shows how nearly two thousand years ago colonising forces from afar left their mark on the native population of Wessex, and although their power is long gone there are still constant reminders of their presence, reminders which enable Hardy to draw parallels between the Roman subjugation of the Celts and the present situation in rural England. In the novel another force from afar makes its mark on the local community, and in particular on the leading member of that community, the Mayor, Michael Henchard. This force is embodied in Donald Farfrae, whose name of course means ‘from afar’, and who is greeted by the locals ‘as an exotic foreigner from a distant “country”’.³⁴ Farfrae has come from Scotland on his way to America, where he hopes to experiment with some new inventions relating to the corn trade, for ‘there is no scope for developing them here’ (p. 115). This, however, is what Farfrae, having been persuaded by

³¹ Tacitus, *Agricola*, p. 72.

³² Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995), p. 51.

³³ Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 2.

³⁴ Moses, p. 38.

Henchard to remain in Casterbridge, proceeds to do, using the town and the surrounding countryside as a substitute for the colonies, where his new agricultural methods may be put into practice. These parallel processes occurring in rural England and in the colonies are discussed by Moses in relation to the work of both Hardy and Joseph Conrad. He says: 'what for Hardy had been a provincial matter, the modernization of a backward region of England, reappears in Conrad's fiction as a global process, the imminent Westernization of the world.'³⁵ Both processes involve the extinction of traditional ways of life, and in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* this process is initiated by a stranger from afar and results in the extinction not just of a way of life but of the life of the man who was the leader of that community.

Hardy describes Casterbridge before the arrival of Farfrae as a town 'untouched by the faintest sprinkle of modernism' (p. 94), and according to Moses the gradual take-over by Farfrae is 'in accordance with the dawning age of laissez-faire capitalism' in which 'no individual concentration of wealth is protected from the vagaries of the competitive market'.³⁶ In this respect Farfrae may be regarded as a representative of the Scottish Enlightenment and in particular of Adam Smith, the eighteenth century Scottish economist and philosopher, whose ideas formed the foundation of the modern discipline of economics. Arthur Herman maintains that 'before the eighteenth century was over, Scotland would generate the basic institutions, ideas, attitudes and habits of mind that characterise the modern age' and 'would go on to blaze a trail across the global landscape'.³⁷ It can be argued that the Scottish belief in progress and improvement lay behind much of the success of the British Empire. The Scots with their own history of 'colonisation' by England were eager to have a prominent position in a united Britain and this involved promoting

³⁵ Moses, p. 67.

³⁶ Moses, p. 41.

³⁷ Arthur Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment* (London: Fourth Estate, 2001), p. 11.

their own economic interests in England and in the Empire. They also had a strong belief that progress could only be achieved by the application of rational, scientific principles in areas such as agriculture. It is of interest that when the Hardys were living in Wimborne between 1881 and 1883 a close neighbour was Frank Douglas, a young Scotsman who was studying agriculture and who was the brother of Sir George Douglas, a Scottish landowner who became a friend of Hardy.

When Donald Farfrae first appears in the novel he is described as ‘a young man of remarkably pleasant aspect [...] ruddy and of a fair countenance, bright eyed and slight in build’ (p. 106). This is in marked contrast to the description of Michael Henchard, a man ‘of heavy frame, large features, and commanding voice; his general build being rather coarse than compact’ with a swarthy complexion ‘black eye, and dark, bushy brows and hair’ (p. 100). Contrasting physical characteristics are often used by Hardy to denote a ‘contrasting set of ideas’³⁸, other notable examples being the ‘pretty, liquid-eyed, light-footed’³⁹ Sue Bridehead in *Jude the Obscure* and the ‘foreigner with black hair and a sallow face’⁴⁰ who sells her the figures of Venus and Apollo. In this case the young, handsome Farfrae is the epitome of all that is modern, innovative and enlightened, whereas the older, coarsely built, dark complexioned Henchard represents the backward, uneducated, superstitious rural man. Farfrae has the knowledge and ability to renovate and improve the bad wheat which Henchard has been selling to the local millers and bakers, in the same way that he will attempt to renovate and improve the entire community. The association of physical characteristics with the notion of ‘primitive’ or ‘civilised’ characters was a device commonly used in Victorian literature and was based on nineteenth century theories

³⁸ Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure* [1896] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 94. Hereafter cited as *Jude*.

³⁹ *Jude*, p. 94.

⁴⁰ *Jude*, p. 94.

on race, put forward by people such as Robert Knox in his book *The Races of Men*.⁴¹ Emily Brontë's contrasting descriptions of Heathcliff and Edgar Linton in *Wuthering Heights* bear a particularly strong resemblance to Hardy's descriptions of Henchard and Farfrae. Catherine comments on 'those thick brows, that instead of rising arched, sink in the middle, and that couple of black fiends, so deeply buried, who never open their windows boldly, but lurk glinting under them, like devil's spies'. Edgar Linton on the other hand has 'great blue eyes and even forehead'.⁴² Charles Darwin, in *The Descent of Man*, writes at length on the physical characteristics associated with different races: 'with civilised nations, the reduced size of the jaws from lessened use [...] and the increased size of the brain from greater intellectual activity, have together produced a considerable effect on their general appearance when compared with savages.'⁴³ However, Darwin seems to contradict himself when he acknowledges that although the existing races of man differ in some minor respects: 'yet if their whole structure be taken into consideration they are found to resemble each other closely'.⁴⁴ The significance of these theories will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter four, but it is obvious that Hardy is using physical characteristics and intellectual ability to represent a culturally dominant distinction between 'primitive' and 'civilised', and, if the analogy is extended further, between the colonised and the coloniser.

Henchard admits to Farfrae that he is 'bad at science [...] bad at figures', and sees that his new friend is 'just the reverse' (p. 117). Farfrae commences his work with Henchard by 'clearing up the numerical fogs' in his account books, a task

⁴¹ Robert Knox, 'The Races of Men', 2nd ed. [1862], pp. 64-106, in *Race: The Origins of an Idea, 1760-1850*, Hannah Augstein, ed., (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1996), pp. 240-260.

⁴² Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights* [1847] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 56.

⁴³ Charles Darwin, 'The Descent of Man', in *Great Books of the Western World: 49. Darwin* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 1989), p. 359. Hereafter cited as *Descent of Man*.

⁴⁴ *Descent of Man*, p. 348.

which Henchard himself 'was mentally and physically unfit for' (p. 146). Instead of using 'ciphering and mensuration' he would 'reckon his sacks by chalk strokes all in a row like garden-palings' and 'measure his ricks by stretching with his arms' (p. 177). The replacement of the oral tradition by a written language was also significant in this 'renovating' process: 'the old crude *viva voce* system of Henchard, in which everything depended on his memory, and bargains were made by the tongue alone, was swept away', and replaced by 'letters and ledgers' (p. 160). The replacement of a method of communication based on words and gestures with one based on the written word is reminiscent of the situation occurring between the Celts and the Romans, and the role played by a written language in the 'civilisation' of a 'primitive' people was as important to Farfrae in his attempt to modernise the inhabitants of Casterbridge as it was to the Roman general Agricola in his subjugation of the Celts.

The identification of Henchard as 'primitive' and Farfrae as 'civilised' and enlightened is emphasised further by the indication that 'Henchard, like all his kind, was superstitious' (p. 197). This pagan aspect of Henchard's nature is demonstrated by his visit to the local weather-prophet and by his belief that someone had been using magic spells against him, but it is used by Hardy throughout the novel to draw attention to the differences between Henchard and Farfrae, and between a primitive, undeveloped community and a modernising, invasive force which will eventually change that community. These differences become most marked after the confrontation between the two men over the treatment of Abel Whittle and the recognition by Henchard that Farfrae was usurping his position as leader of the community. Henchard was not prepared to accept this '*coup*' without a fight, for 'there was still the same unruly volcanic stuff beneath the rind of Michael Henchard

as when he had sold his wife at Weydon Fair' (p. 183). However, the Scotsman's 'northern energy was an over-mastering force among the easy-going Wessex worthies' (p. 185), and this energy, emerging as it did from the Scottish Enlightenment 'was, in some degree, Northern insight matched against Southern doggedness' or expressed in terms of weapons 'the dirk against the cudgel' (p. 186). A particularly potent symbol of Farfrae's modernising influence is the arrival of the horse-drill, which 'will revolutionise sowing hereabout' (p. 240). Elizabeth-Jane fears that the adoption of this machine will mean that 'the romance of the sower is gone for good' (p. 240), and this is a sentiment that would later be expressed by the Marxist Belfort Bax in his exchanges with Eduard Bernstein discussed in the previous chapter, in which Bernstein accuses Bax of romanticism for preferring 'the rudeness of primitive barbarism to the squalor of modern civilisation'.⁴⁵ Hardy might be accused of the same romanticism in his novels, but, as discussed previously,⁴⁶ he was well aware of the consequences of rural poverty and was suspicious of technological innovation only to the extent that it may be used by landowners to oppress the rural worker. The horse-drill does seem to symbolise the increasing industrialisation of the countryside so vividly portrayed by Hardy in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, where people like Tess worked as virtual slaves for profit-seeking absentee landlords. Bax described a similar situation in the colonies where the indigenous economy was being replaced by an exploitative capitalist economy. The comment made by Tacitus regarding the acceptance by the Celts of symbols of Roman 'civilisation' is equally valid in these nineteenth century contexts. According

⁴⁵ Ernest Belfort Bax 'Our German Fabian Convert; or Socialism According to Bernstein', 'Justice, 7 Nov. 1896' in H. Tudor and J.M. Tudor eds., *Marxism and Social Democracy; The Revisionist Debate 1896-1898* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 62.

⁴⁶ See Chapter 1, p. 47.

to him, as we have seen, these ‘novelties’ were really ‘only a feature of enslavement’.⁴⁷

Moses suggests that Henchard’s disapproval of the new seed drill points to ‘the difference between a primitive, patriarchal, intuitive, and inefficient form of doing business and its modern, bureaucratic, technological, and more profitable counterpart’.⁴⁸ In economic terms Henchard is ‘clinging to obsolete mercantilist assumptions’ whereas Farfrae the newcomer is ‘much more attuned to the new economic realities of laissez-faire capitalism’⁴⁹ pioneered by Scottish intellectuals like Adam Smith. It is significant that when Henchard leaves Casterbridge at the end of the novel he returns to the land associated with the pagan Celts, ‘that ancient country whose surface never had been stirred to a finger’s depth, saved by the scratchings of rabbits, since brushed by the feet of the earliest tribes’ (p. 406).

The conflict seen in Hardy’s writings between tradition and progress, or in Bernstein’s words between ‘primitive barbarism’ and ‘modern civilisation’, is not resolved in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, but the assumption that there is always a price to be paid for historical progress is all too obvious. In *The Dorsetshire Labourer* Hardy discusses the changes that have occurred in the lives of the rural labourers during the second half of the nineteenth century, and says ‘while their pecuniary condition in the prime of life is bettered, and their freedom enlarged, they have lost touch with their environment, and that sense of long local participancy which is one of the pleasures of age’.⁵⁰ In a letter to Rider Haggard in 1902 he similarly observes that ‘changes at which we must all rejoice have brought other changes which are not so attractive’, and among these changes is the fact that ‘a vast

⁴⁷ Tacitus, *Agricola*, p. 72.

⁴⁸ Moses, p. 46.

⁴⁹ Moses, p. 44.

⁵⁰ *Dorsetshire Labourer*, p. 182.

mass of unwritten folk-lore, local chronicle, local topography, and nomenclature [...] has nearly sunk into eternal oblivion'.⁵¹ Although these changes may be undesirable they are considerably less significant than the changes which resulted in the mass migration of rural labourers from the villages to the towns and cities, 'the prime cause' of this, as Hardy says, being 'insecurity of tenure'. The villagers did not, on the whole, choose to migrate to the towns, but were forced to do so because of the policies of profit-seeking landlords who pulled down their cottages. In his conclusion to *The Dorsetshire Labourer* Hardy expresses strongly his feelings about this so-called progress, saying 'the question of the Dorset cottager here merges in that of all the houseless and landless poor, and the vast topic of the Rights of Man'.⁵²

Zola, in his novel *The Earth*, which he was working on at the time of the publication of *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, has his character Jean read from a post-revolutionary historical tract which tells 'the story of the Gauls, a free people reduced to slavery by the Romans and then conquered by the Franks'.⁵³ In his novel, Hardy draws a parallel between the Celts, who were similarly conquered by the Romans, and the rural poor of the nineteenth century who were a free people reduced to slavery by technological innovations and unscrupulous landlords. Moses believes that the modernisation of rural England, as portrayed by Hardy, is paralleled on a global scale in Conrad's fiction by the attempt to Westernise the world, and it does seem that in his novel *Lord Jim* Conrad is portraying a pre-modern society intent on retaining its own culture and religion in the face of European intervention. It seems that Conrad, like Hardy, is seeking to 'reconcile the desire for modernisation with the wish to preserve the traditional aspects of an indigenous society'.⁵⁴ Hardy saw

⁵¹ *Life*, p. 313.

⁵² *Dorsetshire Labourer*, p. 189.

⁵³ Zola, *The Earth* [1887] (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1980), p. 87.

⁵⁴ Moses, p. 66.

that modernisation did not necessarily bring unqualified progress to the rural poor, in the same way that Conrad believed that the imposition of Western civilisation did not necessarily result in progress for non-Western peoples.

Wotton's comment comparing the 'dispossession' of the English rural worker with that of the North American Indian⁵⁵ might be seen as a vast exaggeration when the savage treatment handed out to many Native Americans by Western colonisers encroaching upon their territory is considered. However, loss of land and habitation with resulting forced migration are factors common to both situations, as is the exploitation of a particular area for profit, and it is significant that when the director Michael Winterbottom made his film version of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* he chose to set it in the Sierra Nevada mountains of California following the Gold Rush of 1849.

Europeans entering the American West in the search for gold in the 1850s and 1860s were not entering an empty landscape, but one that was 'rich with the history of native peoples',⁵⁶ and this history was virtually erased by the European gold hunters. Paul Niemeyer says that during the Gold Rush, the Native American population of California was 'deracinated and pushed into the margins, much like the native Celts who lived in Britain before the invasion of the Romans'.⁵⁷ This analogy may be further extended to cover the destruction of the traditional rural way of life as described by Hardy in 'The Dorsetshire Labourer'.

Peter Widdowson, in his discussion of film versions of Hardy's novels identifies a 'continual and inescapable process by which Hardy's work is variously dehistoricised and simultaneously rehistoricised in the ideological discourses of the

⁵⁵ Wotton, p. 18.

⁵⁶ *Seeing Hardy*, p. 201.

⁵⁷ *Seeing Hardy*, p. 202.

present'.⁵⁸ The fact that Winterbottom chose to set his 2000 film in the time of the opening up of the American West may be seen as a comment on American imperialism and the spread of Western 'civilisation'. Niemeyer says that: 'The Americans and Europeans who poured into California in search of gold were, like ancient Roman soldiers, the first wave of foreigners from the east who would bring "civilisation"'.⁵⁹ In setting the novel in the American Gold Rush, Winterbottom is linking the themes of Roman imperialism, the colonisation of native lands by outsiders and the contemporary issue of American imperialism and the spread of Western 'civilisation'.

Another interesting parallel between film and novel is the recognition of the importance of the railway in enabling the coloniser to infiltrate areas previously beyond the reach of their influence. Hardy repeatedly uses the image of the railway encroaching upon the countryside as a symbol of the influence of the metropolis on rural affairs. In *Tess*, the railway stretches out its 'steam feeler' to bring the touch of 'modern life' to the rural communities, and in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* 'the railway [from London] had stretched out an arm towards Casterbridge at this time, but had not reached it by several miles as yet' (p. 339). The coming of the railway may bring modernity to rural areas, as Farfrae brings modernity to Casterbridge, but in doing so it destroys the lives of traditionalists such as Henchard, and also the traditional way of life of the inhabitants.

As the rise and fall of the Roman Empire is set alongside the rise and fall of a powerful leader in Hardy's novel, Fred Reid points to an analogy between the life of Henchard and the 'succession of Empires', which, as represented in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* 'is a haunting threat that history may in fact be no march of progress,

⁵⁸ Peter Widdowson, *Hardy in History* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 125.

⁵⁹ *Seeing Hardy*, p. 202.

but a recurring cycle of civilisation and savagery'.⁶⁰ Henchard does indeed seem, like peoples throughout history, to be 'adrift upon a sea of chance and change',⁶¹ rather than being part of a supposed progression from the savage to the civilised.

Reid argues that Hardy set his novel 'among the ancient remains of the Roman Empire in Wessex as a warning to his contemporaries that the "New Imperialism" would produce a class of "new barbarians"'.⁶² In emphasising the fleeting nature of Empires and powers he is questioning the supposition that progress in the form of an imposed civilisation is always a good thing. Winterbottom's film shows how American civilisation 'is built upon land that has been cleared of natives, [...] and its building blocks are commerce, [...] the "new" American civilisation that has been carved out of the West is the same kind of civilisation the Romans forged in the wilds of Britannia during the reign of Claudius'.⁶³ In his novel Hardy explores the meaning of civilisation and historical progress and it is significant that when Winterbottom made his film, he chose to expose these aspects of the novel, rather than adhering closely to the more superficial story-line.

In this section I have explored the themes of colonialism and imperialism through Hardy's novel *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, and demonstrated the link between the Roman occupation of Britain and the colonisation of the countryside which was occurring at the time the novel was being written. I have shown how Benita Parry's stages of colonisation, with conquest and control of land being followed by 'authoritarian rule by a metropolitan nation-state',⁶⁴ may be applied

⁶⁰ Fred Reid, *In Search of Willie Patterson* (Dunfermline: Cualann Press, 2002), p. 145. Hereafter cited as Fred Reid.

⁶¹ J.A.Symonds, 'Studies of the Greek Poets, II' (3rd.edn., 1893), p. 891, in Fred Reid 'Wayfarers and Seafarers: Ideas of History in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*' in *The Thomas Hardy Journal*, October 1997, Vol.XIII, No.3, p. 48.

⁶² Fred Reid, p. 145.

⁶³ *Seeing Hardy*, p. 205.

⁶⁴ *Postcolonial Studies*, p. 108.

equally to the subjugation of native tribes by the Romans and the subjugation of rural workers by the metropolis in nineteenth century England. Her third stage leading to true imperialism, which she sees as industrial, military and economic intervention in colonial countries, is characteristic of capitalist societies in the nineteenth century, but may be seen as being linked to processes occurring within England due to the participation in both areas of the same ‘gentlemanly capitalists’. It is clear that Hardy was also using the remains of the Roman Empire, evident throughout Casterbridge, as a reminder that however powerful empires may be they will eventually fall, and this theme is explored more fully in the next section.

Poems of Empire

Cities and Thrones and Powers,
Stand in Time’s eye,
Almost as long as flowers,
Which daily die:
But, as new buds put forth,
To glad new men,
Out of the spent and unconsidered Earth,
The Cities rise again.⁶⁵

Hardy’s exploration of the themes of historical progress and the rise and fall of empires in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* is continued in poetic form in the *Poems of Pilgrimage* section of *Poems of the Past and the Present* published in 1901. James Whitehead considers that these poems develop ‘an implicit criticism of the imperial project through an extended comparison with Imperial Rome’,⁶⁶ and close study of the poems written during the Hardys’ visit to Italy in 1887 does indeed provide evidence that Hardy was not just writing descriptions of the places he visited but was

⁶⁵ Rudyard Kipling’s *Verse*, Definitive Edition (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1940), p. 487.

⁶⁶ James S. Whitehead, ‘Hardy and Englishness’, in Phillip Mallet, ed., *Palgrave Advances in Thomas Hardy Studies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 209.

using the images of a decayed empire to comment upon the fate of all empires, including the one which was currently colonising vast areas of the world.

The Hardys visited Fiesole near Florence in April 1887 during their tour of Italy and Hardy records writing the sonnet 'In the Old Theatre, Fiesole' as a result of 'an incident that occurred while he was sitting in the stone Amphitheatre on the summit of the hill'.⁶⁷ In the first verse of the poem he writes:

I traced the Circus whose gray stones incline
Where Rome and dim Etruria interjoin,
Till came a child who showed an ancient coin
That bore the image of a Constantine. (CP, 102)

J.O.Bailey suggests that Hardy might have been struck by the similarity between the amphitheatre in Fiesole and Maumbury Rings in Dorchester, a neolithic monument which had been adapted by the Romans to form a large amphitheatre. The 'gray stones' of the Roman ruins form the boundary between the Roman past and the Etruscan countryside, just as 'the crumbling walls of the Roman outpost of Durnovaria'⁶⁸ form the boundary between the old Roman town of Dorchester and the surrounding countryside. In *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, when Elizabeth- Jane is approaching Casterbridge with her mother, she notices how the town 'is shut in by a square wall of trees' and has no suburbs, country and town meeting 'at a mathematical line' (p. 94). On entering the town they see that the wall of trees is 'standing on a low green bank or escarpment, with a ditch yet visible without. Within the avenue and bank was a wall more or less discontinuous, and within the wall were packed the abodes of the burghers' (p. 95). Casterbridge, which 'announced old Rome in every street, alley and precinct'(p. 140) is separated from the surrounding countryside by the same 'gray stones' that indicate in Hardy's poem

⁶⁷ *Life*, p. 192.

⁶⁸ J.O.Bailey *The Poetry of Thomas Hardy* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1970), p. 129. Hereafter cited as Bailey.

the point 'Where Rome and dim Etruria interjoin'. J.O.Bailey suggests that Hardy may have been made more aware of the similarities between Fiesole and Dorchester by the presence in Fiesole of Mrs Baxter, formerly Miss Lucy Barnes, the daughter of Dorsetshire poet William Barnes, who was now living in Florence. These two towns containing similar remains of their Roman past and yet thousands of miles apart were a reminder for Hardy of the power of Imperial Rome, and this must have been further reinforced by the passing child who showed him a coin bearing the image of the Roman emperor Constantine:

She lightly passed; nor did she once opine
How, better than all books, she had raised for me
In swift perspective Europe's history
Through the vast years of Caesar's sceptred line. (*CP*, 102)

As previously noted (p. 52), it was a common occurrence during excavations in Dorchester, to find coins bearing images of Roman emperors such as Constantine alongside the bones of Roman soldiers. As discussed, Hardy had personal experience of finding such coins in the digging of the foundations of his house at MaxGate. This simple object provides an immediate link with the past, transporting Hardy back to the time when there was a powerful, rich Roman Empire. As he says in the last verse of the poem:

For in my distant plot of English loam
'Twas but to delve, and straightway there to find
Coins of like impress. As with one half blind
Whom common simples cure, her act flashed home
In that mute moment to my opened mind
The power, the pride, the reach of perished Rome. (*CP*, 102)

As a result of this incident Hardy is suddenly made aware of how far-reaching was the power of Imperial Rome. However, with the use of alliteration in the last sentence of the poem, aligning the word perished with power and pride, he shows that all that remains of that power lies in ruins, and there is a suggestion that other

powers which have arisen since and had an even greater reach will meet a similar fate. Hardy must have been aware that as part of his conquest of Europe, Napoleon renamed a large area of Tuscany the Kingdom of Etruria, which existed as a separate state between 1801 and 1807, when he turned it into three French departments: reference to Etruria in the poem is another reminder of the rise and fall of an empire.

Before visiting Fiesole the Hardys had spent some time in Rome where Hardy felt 'its measureless layers of history to lie upon him like a physical weight',⁶⁹ and the poems he wrote about this visit reflect the feeling that history is a 'recurring cycle of civilisation and savagery'⁷⁰ rather than an inevitable march of progress. Recording his thoughts of the time in what became *The Life of Thomas Hardy*, he says 'everybody is thinking, even amid these art examples from various ages, that this present age is the ultimate climax and upshot of the previous ages, and not a link in a chain of them'.⁷¹ The 'present age' in which Hardy was writing was the age in which Britain was at the height of her powers as an imperial nation, and many historians and philosophers, including Hegel (see below), did in fact believe that this was the 'climax' of hundreds of years of historical progress, and that in spreading Western civilisation and Christianity throughout the world Britain had indeed achieved some pre-ordained purpose. In his history of the British Empire, Bill Nasson observes that the picture of an enfeebled and degenerate Roman Empire helped to instil in the British of the 1890s the determination 'to make sure that they did not go the same way of decadence and decline'.⁷² Sitting amongst the ruins of that previous empire whose influence had spread from Rome to Dorchester, Hardy was reflecting on the fragile nature of power and the possibility that the British

⁶⁹ *Life*, p. 188.

⁷⁰ Fred Reid, p. 145.

⁷¹ *Life*, p. 191.

⁷² Bill Nasson, *Britannia's Empire* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2006), p. 205.

Empire was just another ‘link in a chain’ amongst ‘the layers of history’, rather than the pinnacle of historical progress. In the year prior to the Italian visit Hardy had spent some time in the British Museum struggling with the ideas of the German philosopher Hegel,⁷³ and it is evident from his reflections during this period that he was not fully in sympathy with Hegel’s view that Western, Christian civilisation was ‘the most profoundly self-aware and thus most advanced in history’.⁷⁴ Hegel considered that civilisations throughout history can be judged according to the extent to which individuals are enabled to develop self-awareness, and are able to take a part in determining the course of history, instead of being determined by it. This ‘progress of the consciousness of Freedom’,⁷⁵ can only occur when individuals act in accordance with reason; in other words Hegel sees world history as being ‘governed by a rational process’ rather than ‘a random series of events’.⁷⁶ This idea of ‘constant historical advance’ is not in accordance with Hardy’s implication that ‘there may be little separating the rites enacted in the temple of primitive blood sacrifice and the atrocities committed at Wintonchester gaol, where Tess is executed’.⁷⁷ Hegel’s belief that the more ‘self-conscious’ civilisations, represented by the countries of Western Europe, should spread ideas of freedom and development to less advanced civilisations, could be taken as a justification for Western imperialism, and Houlgate comments that ‘in the modern world, Hegel considered the English in particular to have taken on this educative role and to be the “missionaries” of modern European civilisation to the rest of the world’.⁷⁸ Hegel, writing at the beginning of the

⁷³ *Life*, p. 179.

⁷⁴ Stephen Houlgate, *An Introduction to Hegel* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), p. 23. Hereafter cited as Houlgate.

⁷⁵ Georg W.F.Hegel, *The Philosophy of History* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1991), p. 19. Hereafter cited as *Philosophy of History*.

⁷⁶ David James, *Hegel: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Continuum, 2007), p. 69.

⁷⁷ Andrew Radford, *Thomas Hardy and the Survivals of Time* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), p. 5.

⁷⁸ Houlgate, p. 16.

nineteenth century, naturally had no experience of advanced Western imperialism as described by Williams and Chrisman,⁷⁹ but his belief that Western, Christian values should be extended ‘over the whole globe’ rings somewhat hollow in the light of nineteenth century imperial adventures. Although British imperialism was closely linked with the spread of Christianity and Western values, the work of Cain and Hopkins, as discussed in Chapter one, demonstrates the extent to which the ‘gentlemanly capitalists’ of the nineteenth century used the Empire to extend their economic power to the colonies, and Williams and Chrisman describe nineteenth century imperialism as ‘the globalisation of the capitalist mode of production’.⁸⁰ Increasing wealth concentrated in the hands of a few was a feature of both Roman and British imperialism, although in the latter case this resulted from ‘exploitative capitalism’ rather than war and conquest. The view that this private interest and selfishness contributed to the collapse of Imperial Rome may be extended to predict the collapse of the British Empire, whose ‘power’ and ‘pride’ was actually preventing the spread of freedom and self-determination to the peoples of the Empire. Hardy’s view that the age in which he was living was not the ultimate climax of previous ages but just a link in the chain of history is reflected in his Rome poems and certainly seems more relevant to the contemporary situation than Hegel’s view that ‘the history of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom’.⁸¹

In the poem ‘Rome: On the Palatine’ Hardy describes a tour of the Palatine Hill, one of the most ancient parts of the city where the ruined palaces of the Roman

⁷⁹ See discussion on the meaning of imperialism in Williams and Chrisman, *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*, p. 2.

⁸⁰ Williams and Chrisman, p. 2.

⁸¹ *Philosophy of History*, p. 9.

emperors Augustus, Tiberius and Domitian still stand. Walking amongst the ruins

Hardy imagines them as they would have been at the height of Roman power:

And each ranked ruin tended to beguile
The outer sense, and shape itself as though
It wore its marble gleams, in pristine glow
Of scenic frieze and pompous peristyle. (*CP*, 102)

Suddenly his reverie is broken by the sound of a Strauss waltz being played above where he is standing in one of the palaces and for a moment the present becomes at one with the past, the Strauss waltz mingling in his imagination with images of Imperial Rome:

And blended pulsing life with lives long done,
Till Time seemed fiction, Past and Present one. (*CP*, 103)

The juxtaposition of the Strauss waltz with images of imperial power can be no mere coincidence. Johann Strauss wrote most of his music for the entertainment of the royal Habsburg court, the ruling house of the powerful Austrian Empire and many of his patriotic marches were dedicated to the emperor Franz Josef I. Again there is a link between the once powerful Roman Empire now lying in ruins and an empire whose power was gradually declining and which would cease to exist less than thirty years later as a result of the First World War. Time does indeed seem a fiction, the present being no better or worse than the past, simply a continuous blending together of 'civilisation and savagery'.

The same theme is continued in the poem 'Rome: Building a New Street in the Ancient Quarter'. In this poem Hardy describes his feelings on watching workmen building new houses amongst the ruins of ancient Roman buildings:

And yet within these ruins' very shade
The singing workmen shape and set and join
Their frail new mansion's stuccoed cove and quoin
With no apparent sense that years abrade,
Though each rent wall their feeble works invade

Once shamed all such in power of pier and groin. (CP, 103)

In *'The Life'* Hardy says: 'I wonder how anybody can have any zest to erect a new building in Rome, in the overpowering presence of decay on the mangy and rotting walls of old erections, originally of fifty times the strength of the new.'⁸² Similar sentiments were expressed in a letter to Edmund Gosse written from Rome in which he says, 'how any community can go on building in the face of the "Vanitas vanitatum" reiterated by the ruins is quite marvellous' (CL, I, 163). The magnificent Roman buildings were representative of the powerful empire in which they were built and were meant to reflect that power, but they like the empire itself now lie in ruins. Interestingly, the words of this poem echo those of Gibbon in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, a work which Hardy knew well. He owned the seven volume Bohn British Classics edition, published in 1853, which is now in the Dorchester County Museum and contains many marked passages showing evidence of Hardy's reading. In the last chapter of this work Gibbon says: 'The art of man is able to construct monuments far more permanent than the narrow span of his own existence: yet these monuments, like himself, are perishable and frail, and in the boundless annals of time his life and his labours must equally be measured as a fleeting moment.'⁸³

A somewhat different approach to the expression of his ideas on the impermanence of empires and the intimate connection between past and present is taken by Hardy in his poem 'Rome: At the Pyramid of Cestius near the Graves of Shelley and Keats'[1887], written as a result of the same visit to Rome. The Hardys went to the Protestant cemetery in Rome to visit the graves of Shelley and Keats, and

⁸² *Life*, p. 189.

⁸³ Edward Gibbon, ed. J.B.Bury, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol.7, Chpt.71 (London: Methuen and Co., 1909), p. 317. Hereafter cited as *Decline and Fall*.

Hardy found himself contemplating the nearby monument erected in memory of a Roman praetor and tribune, Caius Cestius:

Who, then, was Cestius,
And what is he to me? –
Amid thick thoughts and memories multitudinous
One thought alone brings he.

I can recall no word
Of anything he did;
For me he is a man who died and was interred
To leave a pyramid. (*CP*, 104)

Bailey confirms that very little is known of Cestius and queries why such a large monument was built to commemorate him. He notes that in the Baedeker guide to Rome, which the Hardys were probably using during their visit, there is a reference to the fact that the tomb of Cestius was originally part of a much larger monument which was 'extricated in 1663, on which occasion the two columns of white marble and the colossal bronze foot now found in the Capitoline Museum were found', the foot belonging 'to a colossal statue of Cestius'.⁸⁴ Cestius, however, is now forgotten, along with whatever brave actions he may have taken in life, but:

...This I know: in death all silently
He does a finer thing,

In beckoning pilgrim feet
With marble finger high
To where, by shadowy wall and history-haunted street,
Those matchless singers lie (*CP*, 105)

One of those 'matchless singers' is the poet Shelley, and there is a strange similarity between Hardy's poem and Shelley's *Ozymandias*, the 'two vast and trunkless legs of stone' in Shelley's poem bringing to mind the two columns of white marble found in Cestius's monument. The 'colossal wreck' of Ozymandias lies ruined and decaying as does the remains of Cestius's statue, leaving only the pyramid of his

⁸⁴ Bailey, p. 133.

tomb 'with marble finger high' to guide the pilgrims to the poets' graves. In Hardy's poem the once powerful representative of the Roman Empire is now forgotten, but his life is given some purpose in marking the spot 'where two immortal Shades abide'. To Hardy the importance of these two young poets who achieved fame through the written word far outweighs the importance of a powerful member of a once powerful empire. Cestius's fame lies not in the deeds committed during his lifetime but in his association with these two anti-establishment Englishmen. Shelley in particular is well known for his anti-imperialistic views as expressed in poems like 'The Mask of Anarchy', and in the sonnet 'England in 1819' he refers to the royal dynasty as:

Princes, the dregs of their dull race, who flow
Through public scorn, - mud from a muddy spring,
Rulers who neither see nor feel nor know,
But leechlike to their fainting country cling
Till they drop⁸⁵

Twelve years after his visit to Rome, in October 1899, Hardy was at Southampton Docks watching the troop ships depart for South Africa at the start of the Boer War. His poem 'Embarcation' written as a result of this experience expresses far more directly the views only hinted at in his Roman poems about imperial conquest:

Here, where Vespasian's legions struck the sands,
And Cerdic with his Saxons entered in,
And Henry's army leapt afloat to win
Convincing triumphs over neighbour lands,

Vaster battalions press for further strands,
To argue in the selfsame bloody mode
Which this late age of thought, and pact, and code,
Still fails to mend... (CP, 86)

⁸⁵ P.B. Shelley, 'England in 1819' in Donald H. Reiman and Sharon B. Powers, eds., *Shelley's Poetry and Prose* (New York: W.W.Norton and Co., 1977), p. 311.

Hardy notes how nearly two thousand years ago the imperial Roman army under Vespasian had landed on the south coast of England, defeated the local Celtic tribes and colonised the countryside around his native Dorset. Four hundred years later, after the departure of the Romans, Cerdic, the Saxon leader, 'landed in Southampton water, fought a number of battles with the British, and by 519 established himself as the King of the West Saxons'.⁸⁶ Nearly a thousand years after being colonised by these foreign invaders the British themselves became colonisers, Henry V sailing from Southampton to defeat the French at Agincourt. Hardy now sees that despite living at a time when more civilised methods might be used to settle differences between countries, these 'vaster battalions' are setting out for a distant land, with the same intention as the Romans, the Saxons and even Henry V of invading and colonising another country by means of warfare. Hardy's comment on the men aboard the ships: 'None dubious of the cause, none murmuring', is taken to be ironic by Bailey in his commentary on the poem. He says 'that Hardy parallels the South African war with the invasions of Vespasian and Cerdic indicates that he was dubious of the cause and perhaps thought the men should have murmured'.⁸⁷

The sentiments expressed in the poem were repeated in several letters written to Florence Henniker in the autumn of 1899, though it is important to recognise that Hardy would probably have refrained from expressing the depth of his feeling in these letters due to the participation of Mrs Henniker's husband Major Arthur Henniker in the Boer war. In a letter of 17 September 1899 Hardy says: 'I suppose this unfortunate war with the Boers will come [...] it seems a justification of the extremist pessimism that at the end of the 19th century we settle an argument by the sword, just as they would have done in the 19th century B.C' (*CL*, II, 229). Again on

⁸⁶ Bailey, p. 115.

⁸⁷ Bailey, p. 116.

11 October he says: 'I constantly deplore the fact that "civilised" nations have not learnt some more excellent and apostolic way of settling disputes than the old and barbarous one, after all these centuries' (*CL*, II, 232), and on 19 December: 'this Imperial idea is, I fear, leading us into strange waters' (*CL*, II, 241). Such sentiments would not have been popular at the time; as Elleke Boehmer points out, 'within this closed world of imperial belief, opposition was virtually inadmissible. Britain was set on a path of progression that led in one direction only: upwards. Given the dominant picture of things, any signs to the contrary could make no sense'.⁸⁸

Boehmer's assertion that Hardy 'met with social disapproval' for criticising Britain's role in the South African War is confirmed by Hardy himself.

Commenting on his *Poems of the Past and the Present* in a letter to Florence Henniker on 22 October, 1900, he says, 'I am puzzled what to do with some poems, written at various dates, a few lately, some long ago. If I print them I know exactly what will be said about them: "You hold opinions which we don't hold: therefore shut up"' (*CL*, II, 269). Other writers of the time, such as Kipling, were writing poems which upheld the belief, voiced by Cecil Rhodes, that "we are the first race in the world" and "the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for the human race".⁸⁹ In his poem 'Recessional' [1897] Kipling makes it clear that he thinks God is on the side of the British:

God of our fathers, known of old
Lord of our far-flung battle-line,
Beneath whose awful Hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine...⁹⁰

Kipling's apparent belief in imperial Britain's upward path of progress contrasts with Hardy's comment in *The Life* that the present age in Britain should be regarded as 'a

⁸⁸ Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) p. 43. Hereafter cited as Boehmer.

⁸⁹ Cecil Rhodes quoted in Boehmer, p. 43.

⁹⁰ *Rudyard Kipling's Verse*, Definitive Edition (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1940), p. 328.

link in the chain' of history, rather than the 'ultimate climax' of previous ages.⁹¹ By comparing imperial Britain's war in South Africa with imperial Rome's invasion of Britain in his poem 'Embarcation', he is demonstrating that there is in fact no progress in history and that the methods used by both powers are essentially the same. The ultimate conclusion to be drawn from this might be that as imperial Rome collapsed so eventually will imperial Britain.

In his discussion of Hardy's poem 'At the War Office, London', James Whitehead reinforces the view that Hardy would have met with considerable 'social disapproval' for expressing anti-imperialistic views in his Boer War poems. This poem was originally published on 27 January 1900, in the first issue of the magazine *The Sphere*, a magazine which claimed to be politically neutral and was edited by Hardy's friend, Clement Shorter. However, in its launch statement the magazine pledged 'loyalty to Queen and Empire' and expressed a 'profound sense of the infinite power for good of Great and Greater Britain'.⁹² As Whitehead points out, 'neutrality does not accommodate questioning of the *raison-d'être* of Empire' and Hardy's poem provided the 'only critical note in relation to Empire, sounded in the midst of a fanfare of imperial propaganda'.⁹³ In the poem Hardy ponders the fact that before the outbreak of war the world situation was full of bleakness and tragedy, but at least there was peace:

Yet at that censured time no heart was rent
Or feature blanched of parent, wife, or daughter
By hourly posted sheets of scheduled slaughter;
Death waited Nature's wont; Peace smiled unshent
From Ind to Occident. (CP, 90)

⁹¹ *Life*, p. 19.

⁹² James Whitehead, Commentary on 'At the War Office, London' in *The Poetry of Thomas Hardy*, Sara Haslam ed., CD-ROM (Chester College of H.E., 2001). Hereafter cited as Whitehead, CD-ROM.

⁹³ Whitehead, CD-ROM..

The use of the words ‘scheduled slaughter’ emphasises the heartless, pre-planned and mechanical killing of war and contrasts markedly with the words ‘Peace smiled unshent’ in the following line. Interestingly Bailey comments that the reviewers were highly critical of Hardy’s use of the word ‘unshent’, believing, quite incorrectly that he had made it up.⁹⁴ Whitehead proposes that in the last line of the poem Hardy is showing ‘an inversion of traditional assumptions about the centrality of England’, and is thereby questioning ‘the assumption of the central importance of the imperial metropolis’.⁹⁵ ‘Ind’ is the gateway to the east or Orient and Hardy’s wording suggests the spread of peace from east to west, rather than the spread of civilisation from west to east. As Whitehead says: ‘In the reversal of customary Western perspective embodied in “From Ind to Occident” and in using the term ‘Occident’ itself as an unusual descriptive term for Western society, Hardy can be seen to subvert imperial assumptions.’⁹⁶ Hardy’s own words in his letters to Florence Henniker certainly give credence to Whitehead’s argument. In a letter written in February 1900, soon after the publication of *At the War Office, London*, he says, ‘We the civilised world have given Christianity a fair trial for nearly 2000 years, and it has not yet taught countries the rudimentary virtue of keeping peace: so why not throw it over, and try, say, Buddhism?’ (*CL*, II, 248). Years later, in June 1919, after the First World War, Hardy expressed his fear to Mrs Henniker that the world ‘is getting worse and worse [...] I almost think that people were less pitiless towards their fellow creatures [...] under the Roman Empire than they are now: so why does not Christianity throw up the sponge and say I am beaten, and let another religion take its place’ (*CL*, V, 309).

⁹⁴ Bailey, p. 118.

⁹⁵ Whitehead, CD-ROM.

⁹⁶ Whitehead, CD-ROM.

The fact that the spread of Christianity to 'pagan' peoples was an integral part of British Imperialism makes Hardy's statements appear distinctly anti-imperialistic, and his comment on the Roman Empire demonstrates again that he did not consider the present age, with Britain at the height of her powers as an Imperial nation, to be the climax of historical progress. Hardy's comments on Christianity and its connection with Empire bring to mind the views of Hegel discussed earlier in this chapter, Hardy's statements being totally out of sympathy with Hegel's view that Western, Christian civilisation represented the pinnacle of historical development. Hegel shared the historian, Edward Gibbon's view that the introduction of Christianity with its emphasis on the individual, was one of the main causes of the decline of the Roman Empire, but Hegel's view that 'Christianity represents a higher and more profound form of human self-awareness'⁹⁷ would not have been shared by Gibbon. Lennart Bjork indicates, in his annotations to *The Literary Notebooks*⁹⁸ that Hardy had marked many passages in his own copy of Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, some of which he used in *Jude the Obscure*. When Sue returns home with the pagan statuettes which she has purchased, she reads a chapter from a volume of Gibbon 'dealing with the reign of Julian the Apostate'.⁹⁹ In this chapter Gibbon writes: 'Julian declared that, by the folly of the Galileans, whom he describes as a sect of fanatics, contemptible to men and odious to the gods, the empire had been reduced to the brink of destruction.'¹⁰⁰

Hardy included a poem written in honour of Gibbon in the same section of his *Poems of the Past and the Present* as the Rome poems. The poem 'Lausanne: In

⁹⁷ Houlgate, p. 12.

⁹⁸ Lennart A. Björk, ed., *The Literary Notebooks of Thomas Hardy*, Vol.1 (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1985), p. 349.

⁹⁹ *Jude*, p. 96.

¹⁰⁰ *Decline and Fall*, Vol.2, Chpt.23, p. 486.

Gibbon's Old Garden: 11-12 p.m.', was written as a result of a visit Hardy made to Gibbon's house on the 110th anniversary of the completion of the *Decline and Fall*. In the poem Hardy imagines the spirit of the dead historian speaking to him and asking him; 'How fares the Truth now? – Ill?' (CP, 106). Two years before this visit, *Jude the Obscure* had been published and Hardy was vilified by the critics and by the public for views expressed in the novel which were considered to be anti-Christian and blasphemous. The *Pall Mall Gazette* review was actually headed 'Jude the Obscene', and that in the *London World*, 'Hardy the Degenerate'.¹⁰¹ Gibbon's work had received similar criticism, and in the last verse of this poem Hardy allies himself with Gibbon and with Milton as someone who has tried to speak the truth and in consequence has been condemned by those unwilling to consider any views which diverge from those generally accepted at the time:

Still rule those minds on earth
At whom sage Milton's wormwood words were hurled:
"Truth like a bastard comes into the world
Never without ill-fame to him who gives her birth"? (CP, 106).

There are two other poems in which Hardy reflects on the past glories of Imperial Rome, but these are based on a rather more domestic setting than that of the *Poems of Pilgrimage* or the Boer War poems. However, it is in these poems that he seems to express most clearly his feelings on the transitory nature of power and the ultimate pointlessness of conquest and empire building. In both poems Dorchester and the surrounding countryside as it was under Roman occupation is contrasted vividly with ordinary, seemingly mundane events occurring in Hardy's Dorchester. In 'The Roman Road', he describes the road which runs across the heath behind his childhood home:

¹⁰¹ Quoted in Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 369.

...And thoughtful men
Contrast its days of Now and Then,
And delve, and measure, and compare;
Visioning on the vacant air
Helmed legionaries, who proudly rear
The eagle, as they pace again
The Roman Road (*CP*, 264).

Here Hardy almost seems to be mocking the ‘thoughtful men’ who delve, measure and compare, using words which suggest a scientific exploration rather than an emotional connection with the past. The phrase ‘visioning on the vacant air’ suggests that these historians and archaeologists are imposing on the landscape their view of the past, showing the Romans as a powerful invading force, making their mark upon the Dorsetshire countryside. This is of course the image used by Hardy when comparing this invasion with the current destruction of the rural way of life, but for the young Hardy walking along the Roman road with his mother these legionaries may as well not have existed:

But no tall brass-helmed legionnaire
Haunts it for me. Uprises there
A mother’s form upon my ken,
Guiding my infant steps, as when
We walked that ancient thoroughfare,
The Roman Road (*CP*, 264).

All that remains of these proud invaders is the track along which Hardy and his mother are walking and their effect upon the present local inhabitants of the countryside they once ruled is negligible. As discussed in the previous section, Hardy had commented in his talk to the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, on the unconcern of the local people for the Roman remains around them and it is true that such objects would not have the same resonance for them as objects from the more recent past. For Hardy the important memory attached to this road is not the powerful Roman army, but the powerful influence of his mother who guided his steps, not just along this road, but throughout his childhood.

In 'The Roman Gravemounds' these ideas are taken further and expressed with a greater intensity. Hardy sees a man walking amongst Roman relics with a basket and spade and presumes that he has come to dig for Roman remains:

By Romes's dim relics there walks a man,
Eyes bent; and he carries a basket and spade;
I guess what impels him to scrape and scan;
Yea, his dreams of that Empire long decayed.

"Vast was Rome." He must muse, "in the world's regard,
Vast it looms there still, vast it ever will be;"
And he stoops to dig and unmine some shard
Left by those who are held in such memory (*CP*, 396).

These words are of course ironic, for the man is Hardy himself, and he has not come to search for Roman treasures:

But no; in his basket, see, he has brought
A little white furred thing, stiff of limb,
Whose life never won from the world a thought;
It is this, and not Rome, that is moving him.

And to make it a grave he has come to the spot,
And he delves in the ancient dead's long home;
Their fames their achievements, the man knows not;
The furred thing is all to him – nothing Rome! (*CP*, 397).

Florence Dugdale had written in a letter to Edward Clodd on November 8, 1910, that 'Mr T.H. has been in the depths of despair at the death of a pet cat', and she later describes going into Hardy's study and finding him 'working at a pathetic little poem describing the melancholy burial of the white cat'.¹⁰² However, this is far from 'a pathetic little poem', for Hardy has made use of this sad personal event to expose the fact that however vast Rome was, it is not still vast 'in the world's regard', and that the present day inhabitants of Dorchester are not concerned with memories of the fames and achievements of long dead Romans but with their own anonymous lives and relationships. That 'Empire long decayed', although once holding supreme

¹⁰² Bailey, p. 326.

power and authority, was, like all such empires since, only fleeting in its power and has no relevance to the man burying his pet cat amongst the remains of these Roman soldiers. For Hardy the bones of the cat will have more significance than the bones of the Romans amongst which they lie:

“Here say you that Caesar’s warriors lie? –
But my little white cat was my only friend!
Could she but live, might the record die
Of Caesar, his legions, his aims, his end!”

Well, Rome’s long rule here is oft and again
A theme for the sages of history
And the small furred life was worth no one’s pen;
Yet its mourner’s mood has a charm for me (*CP*, 397).

Bailey agrees that Hardy used the Roman mounds which were present in his garden as ‘a device to contrast the meaning of Rome with the present fact that a loved pet is dead’, and he also suggests that ‘the theme of the poem is expressed in the observer’s concession that the “mourner’s mood has a charm for me”’.¹⁰³ Hardy here identifies himself with the sentiments expressed by the mourner in the poem and so indirectly makes the man’s words his own. Although historians still research and write about the Roman occupation of Britain, Hardy would be willing for all records of ‘Caesar, his legions, his aims, his end’, to be extinguished if he could have his little white cat restored to him. This may appear amazingly sentimental, or, as Florence Dugdale observed, ‘pathetic’, but Hardy is attempting to show that however powerful empires may be they will eventually fall and be forgotten by the majority of people, new empires will take their place, and it is the everyday personal concerns of people which are remembered, just as, for Hardy, walking along the Roman road arouses memories of his mother rather than of marching Roman legionaries.

¹⁰³ Bailey, p. 327.

At the conclusion of this chapter it is worth returning to Whitehead's comment that the *Poems of Pilgrimage* develop 'an implicit criticism of the imperial project through an extended comparison with Imperial Rome',¹⁰⁴ and I suggest that this comment may be applied to other poems and to other works such as *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. These works present the ruined remains of a Roman past as constant reminders that even empires as powerful as that of Rome will come to an end, and be remembered only by historians, who may use this evidence of past empires to suggest that there is no progress in history, only a 'recurring cycle of civilisation and savagery'.

It has been noted that Hardy's criticism of the imperial project, particularly with regard to the Boer War, prompted unfavourable comments from certain sections of the establishment, which probably inhibited Hardy from expressing his views more forcibly. He did after all have many friends from these sections of society, and Florence Henniker, to whom he addressed his views most openly, had a husband fighting in South Africa. Other poets of the period, like Rudyard Kipling, wrote patriotic verse in support of the Empire, and Tennyson who died in 1892 before the war with the Boers, had supported ideas of Empire in his verse. Significantly, Henry Nevinson, the essayist and journalist, who visited Max Gate in 1906, reported Hardy as saying that 'he liked Kipling very much as a companion, and thought he would have been a very great writer if the Imperialists had not got hold of him'.¹⁰⁵

In her article discussing A.A. Markley's book, *Stateliest Measures: Tennyson and the Literature of Greece and Rome* (Univ. of Toronto Press, 2004), Linda Hughes says that many of Tennyson's poems 'sought to serve the nation by inspiring

¹⁰⁴ James S. Whitehead, 'Hardy and Englishness', in Phillip Mallet, ed., *Thomas Hardy Studies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 209.

¹⁰⁵ James Gibson, ed., *Thomas Hardy: Interviews and Recollections* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999), p. 79.

patriotism' and that his classical poems 'would have sustained associations of a great empire and its heroic patriotism through the echo of Horace, whom informed Victorians considered a lofty exemplar of imperial Rome'.¹⁰⁶ As Poet Laureate Tennyson was required to write verses to commemorate public occasions and these would necessarily have had to carry patriotic sentiments. However, it is interesting to compare his poem 'On the Jubilee of Queen Victoria', written in 1887, with Hardy's poem 'V.R. 1819 –1901; A Reverie', written on the death of the Queen in 1901.

Tennyson writes of the 'Queen, and Empress of India', and of 'Fifty years of ever-widening Empire!' He calls on:

You, Canadian, Indian,
Australasian, African,
All your hearts be in harmony,
All your voices in unison.
Singing, 'Hail to the glorious
Golden year of her Jubilee!'¹⁰⁷

Hardy's poem, by contrast, has no mention of Empire, but places the Queen in a historical context. In Bailey's words 'the poem is no conventional laureate's tribute; it suggests her as symbol of a predestined epoch in human history'.¹⁰⁸ The first line of the poem 'The mightiest moments pass uncalendared', (*CP*, 85) suggests, says Bailey, 'that Victoria had not done any great deed, but had in quiet ways...shaped the era that bears her name'. Tennyson was no uncritical mouthpiece of Empire as poems such as 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' will testify, with its:

Their's not to reason why,
Their's but to do and die:¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Linda K. Hughes, 'Tennyson', in *Victorian Poetry* 43.3 (2005), 389. Hereafter cited as Hughes.

¹⁰⁷ Tennyson 'On the Jubilee of Queen Victoria' in *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Christopher Ricks (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1969), p. 1369.

¹⁰⁸ Bailey, p. 113.

¹⁰⁹ Tennyson, 'The Charge of the Light Brigade', in *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Christopher Ricks (London: Longmans, Green and Co Ltd., 1969), p. 1034.

and Linda Hughes describes him as 'an inquiring imperialist whose classical poems affirmed moral, patriotic and spiritual ideals but also assayed the empire's toll and the nation's imperfect moral health'.¹¹⁰ However, although there is plenty of evidence of patriotism in Hardy's writings there is no evidence that he supported Britain's imperial project, rather that he was dismayed and angered by 'this Imperial idea'.

It is perhaps fitting that in 1918 Hardy met the poet Siegfried Sassoon, who had fought in the First World War, and written highly critical poems about the war. They remained close friends until Hardy's death, and Sassoon dedicated a book of his early poems to Hardy. It seems that in this young poet who was not afraid to criticise the establishment and its conduct of the war, he had met someone far more in tune with his own ideas than his earlier contemporaries.

¹¹⁰ Hughes, p. 390.

Chapter 3 Empires: Napoleon and *The Dynasts*

The age has lost its greatest man. He was far and away from our eyes and our thoughts, but we felt a pervading consciousness that he lived and something of a feeling that he might again appear among us.¹

I with him believed
Devoutly that a spirit was abroad
Which could not be withstood, that poverty,
At least like this, would in a little time
Be found no more, that we should see the earth
Unthwarted in her wish to recompense
The industrious, and the lowly child of toil,
All institutes forever blotted out
That legalised exclusion, empty pomp
Abolished, sensual state and cruel power
Whether by the edict of the one or few –
And finally, as sum and crown of all,
Should see the people having a strong hand
In making their own laws, whence better days
To all mankind. (Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, IX, 520-33).²

The poems included in the *Poems of Pilgrimage* section of *Poems of the Past and Present* [1901] demonstrate the feelings aroused in Hardy when confronted with the ruins of a once powerful empire. However, it was not just reminders of the Roman Empire which caused Hardy to dwell on the transitory nature of empire during his visit to Italy in the spring of 1887. After visiting Rome, Florence and Venice the Hardys went to Milan and ‘here Hardy’s mind reverted to Napoleon, particularly when he was sitting in the sun with his wife on the roof of the Cathedral, and regarding the city in vistas between the flying buttresses’.³

¹ *The Examiner*, 4 July 1821, quoted in Simon Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 9. Hereafter cited as *Bainbridge*.

² William Wordsworth, ‘The Prelude’, Book IX, 520-33, in Wordsworth, Abrams, Gill, eds., *The Prelude* (New York: W.W.Norton and Company, 1979), p. 338.

³ *Life*, p. 195.

In 1805 Napoleon had crowned himself King of Italy in this Cathedral only a few months after his coronation as Emperor in the French capital, an event which had dismayed many of his republican supporters. The visit to Milan also caused Hardy to think of the important battle fought by Napoleon in 1796 at the nearby town of Lodi, and he made a visit to the town, particularly to see the famous bridge over the river Adda where the battle between French and Austrian troops had been fought. Hardy's pilgrimage to Lodi did not live up to his expectations, however. He found that 'the most persevering inquiries at Lodi failed to elicit any tradition of the event, and the furthest search to furnish any photograph of the town and river'.⁴ Perhaps to rectify this state of affairs, some time later he wrote a poem commemorating the visit, and 'The Bridge of Lodi' is grouped together with the other Italian poems as the *Poems of Pilgrimage*. The importance of this battle, which was Napoleon's first major military triumph, vastly increasing his popularity with the French people, is stressed by Hardy in the poem:

On that far-famed spot by Lodi
Where Napoleon clove his way
To his fame, when like a god he
Bent the nations to his sway. (*CP*, 107)

During his visit, as indicated above, Hardy discovered that the current local inhabitants of Lodi had no knowledge of the famous battle and part of the task of the poem is to express his amazement at this lack of historical awareness.

So, I ask the wives of Lodi
For traditions of that day;
But, alas! Not anybody
Seems to know of such a fray.

And they heed but transitory
Marketings in cheese and meat,

⁴ *Life*, p. 196.

Till I judge that Lodi's story
Is extinct in Lodi's street.

Not a creature cares in Lodi
How Napoleon swept each arch,
Or where up and downward trod he,
Or for his outmatching march! (*CP*, 108)

As the poem progresses he also seems to reflect on his own, possibly romanticised, vision of Napoleon. Napoleon's view of the importance of his victory at Lodi is recorded in his later correspondence when he writes:

It was only on the evening of Lodi that I believed myself a superior man, and that the ambition came to me of executing the great things which had so far been occupying my thoughts only as a fantastic dream... After Lodi I no longer saw myself as a mere general, but as a man called upon to influence the destiny of a people.⁵

In his epic verse drama *The Dynasts*, Hardy makes use of this statement on several occasions to illustrate Napoleon's sense of being guided by some force outside his control. When doubts enter his mind on the rationale of advancing into Russia, he muses:

That which has worked will work! – Since Lodi Bridge
The force I then felt move me moved me on
Whether I will or no; and oftentimes
Against my better mind...⁶

Throughout his life Hardy was fascinated by Napoleon's rise and subsequent fall from power and in 'The Bridge of Lodi' he has not disguised the fact that this fascination also contains an element of admiration. He speaks of Napoleon as being 'like a god' and marvels at his 'outmatching march'. However, it does seem somewhat naive of Hardy to believe that the present inhabitants of Lodi would share his interest in an event which had taken place more than ninety years previously, and was yet another incident in a long history of invasions and battles which had taken

⁵ In Frank McLynn, *Napoleon, A Biography* (London: Pimlico, 1998), p. 112.

⁶ Thomas Hardy, *The Dynasts, Part III* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1958), p. 330. Hereafter cited as *Dynasts*.

place in the Lombard region of Italy. Napoleon had in fact overturned a relatively stable period in the history of the region under Austrian rule and although he promised independence under French protection he drained the region of large quantities of gold and art treasures. In the poem Hardy does admit that his view of the battle is somewhat romanticised:

When the whole romance to see here
Is the dream I bring with me (*CP*, 109)

This romantic dream was reinforced by his memories of a tune 'The Bridge of Lodi' which was in his father's music book and which he had loved as a child.⁷ Sitting by the river Adda, Hardy muses on the possibility that the inhabitants of Lodi may, in the end, have a more realistic attitude to the battle than he does:

Since all Lodi, low and head on
Seem to pass that story by,
It may be the Lodi-bred ones
Rate it truly, and not I.

And if here, from strand to steeple,
Be no stone to fame the fight,
Must I say the Lodi people
Are but viewing war aright? (*CP*, 109)

These views are reminiscent of those expressed in poems such as 'The Roman Road' discussed in the previous chapter, when Hardy acknowledges that the rise and fall of empires and in this case of an emperor is of minor importance to most people when compared with the everyday concerns of their personal lives, such as 'transitory marketings in cheese and meat'. Napoleon may have thought he was destined to conquer the world but many empires had risen and fallen before him and would continue to do so, including the British Empire, which after the defeat of Napoleon extended its control over vast areas of the world.

⁷ See J.O.Bailey, *The Poetry of Thomas Hardy* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1970), p.138. Hereafter cited as Bailey.

Hardy's fascination with Napoleon was shared by many writers and thinkers in the nineteenth century, and the influence of two of these, Shelley and Byron, on Hardy's work is examined later in this chapter. At the beginning of the century Napoleon came to embody the possibility that a 'new order' might be established in Europe; that the *ancien régime* represented by the dynastic ruling families, would be swept away. Paul Stock suggests that Napoleon was used 'as an ideological symbol: the instrument and representative of a changing society, less an autonomous person than the tool of broad historical forces'.⁸ When Napoleon declared himself Emperor in 1804, it appeared to many that this hope of a new order had been betrayed. The early Romantic poets, Coleridge and Southey turned against Napoleon and his 'wicked ambition',⁹ and in *The Prelude*, Wordsworth expresses his profound disappointment that the hope of 'better days to all mankind'¹⁰ had been destroyed by Napoleon's imperialistic ambitions. However, as Stock suggests, it seems that although Napoleon was being criticised as a 'man', he was still idealised for the possibilities which he represented. Napoleon was not a member of the aristocracy and had achieved his position as a result of his own abilities. As Hazlitt says in his *Life of Napoleon*, he 'rose to that height from the level of the people, and thus proved that there was no natural inferiority in the one case, no natural superiority in the other. He confounded and annulled the distinction between the two classes of

⁸ Paul Stock, 'Imposing on Napoleon: The Romantic appropriation of Bonaparte', in *Journal of European Studies*, 2006; 36; 363. Hereafter cited as Stock.

⁹ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'Essays On His Times' Vol.2 (London: Routledge and Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 192, quoted in Stock, p. 368.

¹⁰ William Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book IX (1805), Wordsworth, Abrams and Gill, eds., (New York: W.W.Norton and Company, 1979), p. 338.

men'.¹¹ In *Prometheus Unbound* Shelley suggests a comparison between his Prometheus and Milton's Satan in *Paradise Lost*,¹² and for Hazlitt, Napoleon, like Satan, represents revolution against 'the forces of cultural and political conservatism'.¹³ It is evident that Hazlitt and others, including Hardy, used Napoleon 'as an instrument to explore ideas important to them – not merely politics, but also metaphysics and the philosophy of history'.¹⁴

In *The Dynasts*, which forms the main subject of this chapter, Hardy traces the career of Napoleon between 1805 and his final defeat in 1815. It is the contention of this chapter that in this work Hardy uses the figure of Napoleon to explore many of his own ideas on history, war and empire, as well as philosophical questions on freewill and determinism. R.J.White makes the point that the original manuscript of *The Dynasts* contains a footnote which says, 'It is intended to give a list of the chief authorities at the end of the Third Part,'¹⁵ but this was never done. This is certainly no historical document, and although he read widely on the history of the period, Hardy does indeed list no historical sources: the related questions of genre have excited critics since the publication of this text and I discuss some of these later. In the 1950s Emma Clifford made an extensive study of the historical sources used by Hardy and attempted to trace their influence in his work. She mentions a visit made

¹¹ William Hazlitt, 'The Complete Works of William Hazlitt', Vol.XIV (London: J.M.Dent, 1930-4), p. 302, quoted in *Bainbridge*, p. 195.

¹² See pp. 17-19 of this chapter for a fuller account of Shelley's response to Napoleon.

¹³ *Bainbridge*, p. 185.

¹⁴ Stock, p. 385.

¹⁵ R.J.White, '*Thomas Hardy and History*' (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1974), p. 82.

by the publisher, Vere Collins to Hardy in 1920 and his claim that, 'Hardy told him that he started making notes about 1880 and, having collected a lot of material, he thought it "a pity not to make use of it". Collins also declares that Hardy spoke of some of the books he read as "very long and not very good. You may be sure I have not read them since"'.¹⁶ Clifford makes the point that most of the accounts of the Napoleonic Wars read by Hardy were not written by professional historians, the majority of nineteenth century historians being 'amateurs' and 'imaginative writers' who 'wrote history from a personal enthusiasm for their subject or a desire to propagate a point of view'.¹⁷ Clifford comes to the conclusion that the sections of *The Dynasts* most closely based on the historical accounts are the sections of what she refers to as 'wooden dreary verse,' and that 'some of the finest writing in *The Dynasts* is not dependent upon source material of any kind'.¹⁸ Harold Child, writing about *The Dynasts* in the *Times Literary Supplement* in 1908 says: 'For a like achievement we can only go back to one thing – the historical plays of Shakespeare.'¹⁹ In making this comparison Child is emphasising the point that it would be unwise to assume a high degree of historical accuracy in *The Dynasts*, even though, as was the case with Shakespeare, Hardy was very familiar with the historical period covered in his work.

Harold Orel in his *Study of the Dynasts*, supports the view that Hardy had no intention of writing a historical work, but that as a result of the controversy caused by his last novel *Jude the Obscure*, he had decided that the only way he could

¹⁶ Emma Clifford, 'Thomas Hardy and the Historians' in *Studies in Philology*, 56 (1959), p. 654. Hereafter cited as Clifford.

¹⁷ Clifford, p. 656.

¹⁸ Clifford, p. 668.

¹⁹ Harold Child in R.G.Cox, ed., *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge and KeganPaul, 1970), p. 385.

present his more unorthodox views was in the form of verse.²⁰ Seeming to confirm this view, in a note written in October, 1896, Hardy says, ‘perhaps I can express more fully in verse ideas and emotions which run counter to the inert crystallised opinion – which the vast body of men have vested interests in supporting,’ and concludes, ‘if Galileo had said in verse that the world moved, the Inquisition might have let him alone.’²¹

The unorthodox views explored in *The Dynasts* are mainly concerned with the forces which control the actions of men and determine the course of history. The generally accepted view was that there was a Divine purpose behind the universe, and later in this chapter I shall compare Tolstoy’s acceptance of this theological viewpoint with Hardy’s less orthodox views. Hardy maintained that if indeed there was such a Prime Force then it ‘must be either limited in power, unknowing, or cruel’.²² Refusing to accept this notion, he developed instead the concept of the Immanent Will, which controls men’s actions, denying them freewill, but which is an integral part of the natural world rather than being supernatural. In his words it is ‘an indifferent and unconscious force at the back of things “that neither good nor evil knows”’.²³ This will be discussed further later in this chapter, but it is important to recognise that in *The Dynasts* Hardy uses the events surrounding the Napoleonic Wars to explore more fully this concept of the Immanent Will.

Hardy’s unorthodox philosophy and the unusual form of the *The Dynasts* resulted in a rather cool reception from some critics. John Buchan writing in the

²⁰ Harold Orel, *Thomas Hardy’s Epic-Drama: A Study of The Dynasts* (Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1963). Hereafter cited as Orel.

²¹ *Life*, p. 285.

²² *Life*, p. 285.

²³ *Life*, p. 409.

Spectator claimed that the ‘constant harping on the Immanent Will in pseudo-scientific terms becomes in the end merely comic’,²⁴ and an anonymous reviewer in the *Edinburgh Review* believed that ‘it must frankly be acknowledged that the versification taken as a whole is extremely bad verse’.²⁵ However, ten years after its publication the events of the First World War led to a renewed interest in the work. Its realistic treatment of the suffering and chaos caused by large-scale warfare resulting from the ambition and expansionist policies of participating nations, was found to be extremely relevant to the contemporary situation. Its popularity continued throughout the Second World War and in 1940 Bonamy Dobree began his article on *The Dynasts* with the words:

Reread in the first weeks of a struggle, which though not strictly dynastic, is, as Hardy said of the old, “a Great Historical Calamity, or Clash of Peoples, artificially brought about,” *The Dynasts* strikes our awareness with as sharp an impact as it did at the beginning of the last war.²⁶

An article on Hardy in the ‘Manchester Guardian Weekly’ in June 1940 included the observation that ‘*The Dynasts* is again topical because of another great war involving Europe’.²⁷ However, in the second half of the last century interest in *The Dynasts* declined and what was once thought by many to be one of Hardy’s greatest works came to be ignored by the majority of critics. Perhaps one reason for this is Hardy’s seemingly pessimistic philosophy as expressed in the concept of the Immanent Will, which controls men’s actions and precludes the possibility of freewill. K.G.Wilson, writing in 1976, talks of the ‘ambiguities and confusions inherent in the framework’

²⁴ John Buchan, *Spectator*, 20 February 1904, p.292, in Graham Clarke, ed., *Thomas Hardy: Critical Assessments* Vol.I (East Sussex: Helm Information Ltd., 1993), p.333. Hereafter cited as *Critical Assessments*.

²⁵ Anon., *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1908, ccvii, p. 421, in *Critical Assessments*, p. 343.

²⁶ Bonamy Dobree, *The Southern Review*, vol.6, 1940-1, 109-24, in *Critical Assessments*, Vol.II, p. 377.

²⁷ Anon., ‘Thomas Hardy’, *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 7 June, 1940, p. 438, in Gerber and Davis, eds., *Thomas Hardy: An Annotated Bibliography of Writings About Him* (Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1973) p. 451.

of the work and wonders whether it contains ‘a network of ideas of sufficient consistency to be called a “philosophy”’, and whether ‘the relationship between the “ideas” and the literary mode of expression’ is satisfactory.²⁸ It is likely that the post-war generation, faced with the possibility of a totally different type of warfare, found it difficult to face Hardy’s pessimistic concept of an unconscious Immanent Will controlling world events.

During this period only two major works on *The Dynasts* appeared, the first by Harold Orel in 1963 and the second by Susan Dean in 1977.²⁹ However, in 2002 G.Glen Wickens’s book, *Thomas Hardy, Monism, and the Carnival Tradition* was published, providing a completely new interpretation of the work. Wickens’s Bakhtinian reading ‘redefines *The Dynasts* as a novel and relocates it within the serio-comical genres’,³⁰ in common with other English novels by writers such as Fielding, Sterne, Dickens and Thackeray. Considering *The Dynasts* as a novel does mean that it can be approached in a similar way to Hardy’s other novels like *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. Both works are set in a particular historical period but are used by Hardy to explore wider themes such as the effects of historical change on ordinary people and the possibility of popular resistance to imposed power and authority. Wickens’s interpretation will be discussed further later in this chapter.

It is clear that *The Dynasts* is no partisan, patriotic work in which only the English are singled out as heroes, and Ralph Pite points out that Hardy presents with ‘complexity and even-handedness the leaders of the two sides in the conflict’.³¹ It is also evident on various occasions throughout the work that he is drawing a parallel

²⁸ K.G.Wilson, ‘Hardy’s *The Dynasts*: Some Problems of Interpretation’, ‘Colby Library Quarterly’, vol.XII, No.4, December 1976, 181-90, in *Critical Assessments*., Vol.II, p. 405.

²⁹ Susan Dean, *Hardy’s Poetic Vision in The Dynasts* (Princeton University Press, 1977).

³⁰ G.Glen Wickens, *Thomas Hardy, Monism, and the Carnival Tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press Inc., 2002), p. xi. Hereafter cited as Wickens.

³¹ Ralph Pite, *Thomas Hardy: The Guarded Life* (London: Picador, 2006), p. 386.

between the empire-building activities of Napoleon and those of his undefeated adversary, Britain.

Hardy's apparent detachment is emphasised from the beginning when the various ancient spirits who comment on the action view the Earth from an Overworld and 'the point of view then sinks downwards through space, and draws near to the surface of the perturbed countries, where the peoples, distressed by events which they did not cause, are seen writhing, crawling, heaving and vibrating in their various cities and nationalities'.³²

In the following section I use various scenes from *The Dynasts* to explore the way in which Hardy used the work to make comparisons between Napoleon's and Britain's empire-building activities.

In Act I, Scene III, which is set in the House of Commons, Pitt and the opposition are debating the Act which would provide for the protection of England against invasion by Napoleon. The Spirit of the Years observes:

That this thwart parliament whose moods we watch-
So insular, empiric, un-ideal-
May figure forth in sharp and salient lines
To retrospective eyes of afterdays,
And print its legend large on History³³

Napoleon, meanwhile, in contemplating his invasion of England, believes that he will be

...setting free
From bondage to a cold manorial caste
A people who await it³⁴

This belief that he would be liberating the peoples of Europe from the rule of tyrannical dynastic powers is commented on by Paul Johnson in his biography of Napoleon when he says, 'He (Napoleon) saw himself as the Enlightenment

³² *Dynasts* I, p. 6.

³³ *Dynasts* I, p. 26.

³⁴ *Dynasts* I, p. 44.

embodied, bringing rationality and justice to peoples hitherto ruled in the interests of privileged castes',³⁵ although, of course, he was always forced 'by financial and military necessity, to impose burdens that made his rule even more unpopular than the old regimes'.³⁶ It is impossible not to see some parallels here with the idealistic aims of the British Empire and the actual results of its rule on the inhabitants of many of the countries it colonised, and throughout *The Dynasts* Hardy seems to encourage his readers to draw these parallels.

After hearing the news of the Allies' defeat at Austerlitz, William Pitt makes his famous remark about rolling up the map of Europe³⁷ and then in Hardy's words says of Napoleon:

Realms, laws, peoples, dynasties,
Are churning to a pulp within the maw
Of empire-making Lust and personal Gain! ³⁸

Strangely similar sentiments are employed by Napoleon after concluding the terms of an armistice with the Austrian Emperor, Francis:

One country sows these mischiefs Europe through
By her insidious chink of luring ore-
False-featured England, who, to aggrandise
Her name, her influence, and her revenues,
Schemes to impropriate the whole world's trade,
And starves and bleeds the folk of other lands ³⁹

Bernard Shaw, interestingly, puts similar words into the mouth of Napoleon in his play 'The Man of Destiny', which was published in 1898 when Hardy had started research for *The Dynasts*.⁴⁰ In the play Napoleon describes the peculiarities of the Englishman: 'Like the aristocrat, he does what pleases him and grabs what he covets

³⁵ Paul Johnson, *Napoleon* (London: Phoenix, 2003), p. 86.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 86.

³⁷ See Stanhope, *Life of the Rt. Hon. William Pitt* (1862), vol. iv, p. 369.

³⁸ *Dynasts* I, p. 128.

³⁹ *Dynasts* I, p. 124.

⁴⁰ See *Life*, p.298: Spring 1898, 'Hardy did some reading at the British Museum with a view to *The Dynasts*.'

[...] as the great champion of freedom and national independence, he conquers and annexes half the world and calls it Colonisation.’⁴¹

In *The Dynasts* Napoleon’s preoccupation with England’s trade and money-making ventures is evident on many occasions. After defeat at Trafalgar he plans to persuade European states to close their ports to England’s ships and ‘slowly starve her bloated revenues and monstrous trade’.⁴² Later, when discussing the possible partition of Turkey with Tsar Alexander, he says:

If I abstain, its spoils will go to swell
The power of this same England, our annoy;
That country which enchains the trade of towns
With such bold reach as to monopolise,
Among the rest, the whole of Petersburg’s.⁴³

Napoleon is obviously talking to Francis and Alexander in these terms in order to persuade them to join him in forming alliances against England, but similar sentiments to those used by Pitt when referring to Napoleon’s ‘empire-making Lust and personal Gain’ are repeatedly used by Napoleon and others when condemning England’s expansionist policies. The Prussian ladies, observing Napoleon’s entry into Berlin, say of his attitude to England:

Her he still holds the master mischief-mind,
And marrer of the countries’ quietude,
By exercising untold tyranny
Over all ports and seas⁴⁴

England’s superior naval power was a constant aggravation to Napoleon and he was acutely aware of the advantage this gave her in amassing wealth through trade with distant lands. Before the Battle of Borodino he says:

I’ll see how I can treat this Russian horde

⁴¹ Bernard Shaw, ‘The Man of Destiny’ in *Plays Pleasant* [1898] (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 205.

⁴² *Dynasts* I, p. 111.

⁴³ *Dynasts* II, p. 172.

⁴⁴ *Dynasts* II, p. 164.

Which English gold has brought together here
From the four corners of the universe...,⁴⁵

and the foreign attaché in Vauxhall Gardens during the celebrations for victory at Vitoria discusses the planned alliance between Austria and Russia and Prussia against France, saying, 'Of course, an enormous subsidy is to be paid to Francis by Great Britain for this face-about?' His colleague replies 'Yes. As Bonaparte says, English guineas are at the bottom of everything!'⁴⁶

The 'personal gain' to be made from 'empire-making' is all too obvious, but one thing that Napoleon longed for was to found his own Dynasty so that his empire would pass down through his descendants as was the case with the British and European ruling families. Observing the scene of Napoleon's coronation in Milan Cathedral, the Spirit of the Pities says that the new Emperor:

Professed at first to flout antiquity,
Scorn limp conventions, smile at mouldy thrones,
And level dynasts down to journeymen!⁴⁷

and yet he now 'labours to achieve' the very things that he fought to overthrow.

King George III recognises this when he calls Napoleon 'This wicked bombardier of dynasties that rule by right Divine',⁴⁸ and after Austerlitz, when the Emperor Francis is making peace with Napoleon, one of the Austrian officers says:

O strangest scene of an eventful life,
This junction that I witness here today!
An Emperor – in whose majestic veins
Aeneas and the proud Caesarian line
Claim yet to live...
To bend with deference and manners mild
In talk with this adventuring campaigner,
Raised but by pikes above the common herd!⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Dynasts* III, p. 341.

⁴⁶ *Dynasts* III, p. 373.

⁴⁷ *Dynasts* I, p. 33.

⁴⁸ *Dynasts* I, p. 66.

⁴⁹ *Dynasts* I, p. 124.

Napoleon's plan for founding a Dynasty involved divorcing his wife Josephine, with whom he had been unable to produce a son, and marrying Marie Louise, daughter of the Austrian Emperor. As he says to Josephine, 'The Empire orbs above our happiness, And 'tis the Empire dictates this divorce'.⁵⁰ Napoleon had many liaisons with other women during his marriage, the most significant being that with Maria Walewska, the wife of a Polish Count, who did bear him a son, but was forced to return to her husband, and it was eventually the young Austrian princess who provided Napoleon with the heir he desired, and at the same time united his 'dull new name with one that shone in Caesar's day'.⁵¹

Any suggestion that Napoleon's adulterous behaviour indicated a uniquely degenerate and dissolute nature in keeping with his cavalier treatment of the peoples of Europe is countered in *The Dynasts* by Hardy, whose representation of the Prince Regent demonstrates a penchant for equally unorthodox and disreputable behaviour in his relationships with women. As Napoleon had realised, the prime duty of any dynastic head is to provide an heir to continue the dynasty and just as he engaged in a loveless marriage with Marie Louise of Austria to obtain an heir, so the future George IV agreed to marry his cousin, Caroline of Brunswick to obtain an heir to the British throne. More than ten years earlier the Prince of Wales had met and fallen in love with Mrs Maria Fitzherbert, a Roman Catholic and had married her in secret as it was illegal for a member of the royal family to marry a Roman Catholic. Although a comparison may be drawn between George's love for Mrs Fitzherbert and Napoleon's love for Josephine, an important difference is that George's marriage was secret and officially illegal so his acquisition of an heir did not involve the

⁵⁰ *Dynasts* II, p. 259.

⁵¹ *Dynasts* II, p. 298.

necessity of a divorce. As the Spanish visitor to the English court says, on learning that the Princess of Wales lives in a separate establishment while her husband entertains visitors with Mrs Fitzherbert: 'You are not saints in England more than we are in Spain!,' and Bagot replies, 'We are not. Only you sin with naked faces, and we with masks on.'⁵²

In making these comparisons Hardy is showing that in planning for his own dynasty, Napoleon is merely behaving in the same way as the other ruling families of England and Europe. His efforts to extend his empire by the invasion and conquest of an increasing number of countries may also be seen as an attempt to emulate Britain's colonisation and economic exploitation of large areas of the world. As he prepares to invade Russia he says:

But this long journey now just set a-trip
Is my choice way to India; and 'tis there
That I shall next bombard the British rule.
With Moscow taken, Russia prone and crushed,
To attain the Ganges is simplicity⁵³

These words are a reminder that 'empire-making lust and personal gain' are aims not to be associated with Napoleon alone, as Pitt had maintained, but are also applicable to Britain's colonial adventures. In 1798 Napoleon had embarked on his Egyptian campaign with the aim of using Egypt as a stepping-stone to India where he would link up with the Marathas and again with Tipu Sultan, the ruler of Mysore, to overcome British rule. On several occasions he managed to evade the British fleet which was patrolling the Mediterranean to safeguard trade routes but the French fleet was eventually destroyed by Nelson in the harbour at Alexandria leaving Napoleon and the army marooned in Egypt. These confrontations between Napoleon and the

⁵² *Dynasts* II, p. 194.

⁵³ *Dynasts* III, p. 329.

British over control of colonies in the East continued for many years, and in *The Dynasts*, after his defeat in Europe, Napoleon can still say 'But Asia waits a man, And- who can tell?'⁵⁴

It is significant that the most outspoken comments suggesting that there is after all not much to choose between Napoleon's dynastic aims and those of the existing ruling families of Europe are made by the observing Spirits, commenting on the events from a distance and supposedly representing Hardy's own views more pertinently than the participating characters. After Napoleon's retreat from Russia and defeat by the Prussians, the Chorus of Ironic Spirits declaim:

The Battle of the Nations now is closing,
And all is lost to One, to many gained;
The old dynastic routine reimposing,
The new dynastic structure unsustained.

Now every neighbouring realm is France's warder,
And smirking satisfaction will be feigned:
The which is seemlier? - so-called ancient order,
Or that the hot-breath'd war-horse ramp unreined? ⁵⁵

The equating of the old and new dynastic structures and reference to the 'so-called ancient order' is made here in a spirit of irony, but similar sentiments are voiced by the Spirit of the Years before Napoleon's march into Russia:

The rawest Dynast of the group concerned
Will, for the good or ill of mute mankind
Down-topple to the dust like soldier Saul,
And Europe's mouldy-minded oligarchs
Be propped anew. ⁵⁶

Again after the Battle of Waterloo, the same Spirit observes:

...And Europe's wormy dynasties rerobe
Themselves in their old gilt, to dazzle anew the globe! ⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *Dynasts* III, p. 420.

⁵⁵ *Dynasts* III, p. 393.

⁵⁶ *Dynasts* II, p. 320.

⁵⁷ *Dynasts* III, p. 518.

Orel believes that it is in passages like this that Hardy demonstrates ‘the true moral inherent in his subject-matter: all dynasties are self-defeating if the rulers of Europe are concerned only with maintaining their dynasties rather than benefiting their peoples’,⁵⁸ and that ‘every dynast, while publicly denouncing Napoleon’s avarice, secretly envies his success’.⁵⁹

Ralph Pite observes, ‘Napoleon’s defeat, which was one of England’s most famous triumphs, is presented as a return to the unjust status quo and as the sad end of a revolutionary hope.’⁶⁰ In Hardy’s dramatisation of the debate in the House of Commons to discuss whether a battle should be fought to bring about the final defeat of Napoleon, Sir Francis Burdett of the opposition argues against Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary who wants to send troops to defeat Napoleon, by questioning the need ‘to plunge this realm into a sea of blood/ To reinstate the Bourbon line in France’, and maintains ‘no man can doubt that this Napoleon stands/ As Emperor of France by Frenchmen’s wills’.⁶¹ Ponsonby also wonders if it would be wise ‘To rob the French of Buonaparte’s rule,/ And force them back to Bourbon monarchism’.⁶²

The overthrow of ‘Europe’s wormy dynasties’, including the ruling aristocracy in Britain, was an aim with which many intellectuals, writers and artists of the time sympathised. The poet Shelley, who according to Pinion ‘may have influenced Hardy’s thought more than any other writer’,⁶³ was an ardent supporter of the French Revolution, and in his Preface to *The Revolt of Islam* he describes such a revolution as ‘the awakening of an immense nation from their slavery and degradation’. He

⁵⁸ Orel, p. 44.

⁵⁹ Orel, p. 80.

⁶⁰ Ralph Pite, *Thomas Hardy: The Guarded Life* (London: Picador, 2006), p. 387.

⁶¹ *Dynasts* III, pp. 445-6.

⁶² *Dynasts* III, p. 446.

⁶³ F.B.Pinion, in Norman Page ed., *Oxford Reader’s Companion to Hardy* (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 397.

even excuses the bloodshed which followed with the words, 'Can he who the day before was a trampled slave suddenly become liberal-minded, forbearing and independent?' He refers to the restoration of the Bourbons after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo as the result of a 'confederacy of the Rulers of the World, and the restoration of the expelled Dynasty by foreign arms'.⁶⁴ One of the main advocates of war against Napoleon and the reinstatement of the Bourbons was Lord Castlereagh, and in the parliamentary debate which resulted in the decision to send troops into Belgium, Hardy shows Castlereagh as being unmoved by the reasoned arguments of the opposition. Shelley had written of Castlereagh in his poem *The Mask of Anarchy*:

I met Murder on the way-
He had a mask like Castlereagh –
Very smooth he looked, yet grim;
Seven bloodhounds followed him: ⁶⁵

and G.Glen Wickens comments that, "'Very smooth...yet grim" is the way Hardy's Castlereagh sounds'⁶⁶ in the parliamentary debate. Shelley's poem was written on the occasion of the Peterloo Massacre in 1819, but it is thought that the reference to 'seven bloodhounds' refers to the pro-war advocates in Pitt's administration or to the seven European nations which Britain joined with to defeat Napoleon.

Pinion considers that Shelley's great 'Lyrical Drama' *Prometheus Unbound* had a profound influence on Hardy when he was writing *The Dynasts* and there are certainly similarities between the works. Both are verse dramas, but neither was written with the intention that it should be performed on stage. In a letter to *The Times* Hardy responded to a critic who had opined that 'the stage-form is inherently

⁶⁴ P.B.Shelley, 'Preface: The Revolt of Islam' in G.E.Woodberry,ed., *Shelley's Poetical Works, Vol.I* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd., 1893), pp. 116-17.

⁶⁵ P.B.Shelley, 'The Mask of Anarchy' in D.H.Reiman and S.B.Powers, eds. *Shelley's Poetry and Prose* (New York: W.W.Norton and Company, 1977), p. 301. Hereafter cited as Reiman and Powers.

⁶⁶ Wickens, p. 109.

an unnatural one for reading',⁶⁷ by saying that according to his view 'one must conclude that such productions as Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, Byron's *Cain*, and many other unactable play-like poems are a waste of means'.⁶⁸ In addition to the form of the works there are similarities in theme and content. They both contain choruses of spirits, but these are no transcendent spirits removed from the affairs of Earth. The homes of Shelley's spirits are 'the dim caves of human thought'⁶⁹ and like Hardy's spirits are intimately involved with the history of Mankind:

From unremembered ages we
Gentle guides and guardians be
Of Heaven-oppressed mortality-
And we breathe, and sicken not,
The atmosphere of human thought:⁷⁰

Perhaps the most interesting comparison to be made between the works is in the portrayal of the two heroes Prometheus and Napoleon Bonaparte. Shelley portrays Prometheus as the perfect revolutionary engaged in an idealistic struggle against oppression. In the Preface to *Prometheus Unbound* he compares his Prometheus in some degree to Satan in Milton's *Paradise Lost* but says that unlike Satan he is 'exempt from the taints of ambition, envy, revenge, and a desire for personal aggrandisement'.⁷¹ These are the very taints which prevent the Napoleon of *The Dynasts* from becoming 'the type of the highest perfection of moral and intellectual nature, impelled by the purest and the truest motives to the best and noblest ends', a description of Prometheus used by Shelley in the Preface.⁷²

Napoleon's campaign ultimately results in the restoration of the Bourbons and the

⁶⁷ A.B. Walkley, 'The Dynasts: A Suggestion' in *The Times Literary Supplement*, Jan. 29, 1904.

⁶⁸ Thomas Hardy, 'The Dynasts: A Rejoinder' in Harold Orel ed., *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings* (The University of Kansas Press, 1966), p. 141.

⁶⁹ P.B. Shelley, 'Prometheus Unbound' in Reiman and Powers p. 155. Hereafter cited as *Prometheus Unbound*.

⁷⁰ *Prometheus Unbound*, p. 156.

⁷¹ P.B. Shelley, Preface to 'Prometheus Unbound' in Reiman and Powers, p. 133.

⁷² Ibid, p. 133.

other European dynasties, whereas Shelley's Prometheus brings about the overthrow of the all powerful Jupiter, who had oppressed and abused not just Prometheus but the whole of mankind. Jupiter could in fact be speaking for any of the European dynastic emperors when he talks of man:

Hurling up insurrection, which might make
Our antique empire insecure, though built
On eldest faith⁷³

In his *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*, Byron also makes a comparison between Napoleon and Prometheus, but unlike Shelley he 'specifically offers Napoleon the possibility of Promethean status' and 'scripts a new heroic role' for him:⁷⁴

Or like the thief of fire from heaven,
Wilt thou withstand the shock?
And share with him, the unforgiven,
His vulture and his rock!⁷⁵

The betrayal of so many peoples' hopes by Napoleon's ambition and greed and the replacement of one form of oppression by another is a theme running throughout *The Dynasts*, but the concluding words do suggest the possibility of a Prometheus-like salvation for mankind:

But – a stirring thrills the air
Like to sounds of joyance there
That the rages
Of the ages
Shall be cancelled, and deliverance offered from the darts that were,
Consciousness the Will informing, till It fashion all things fair!⁷⁶

The sentiments expressed here bear an interesting similarity to those expressed by Shelley in the concluding words of *Prometheus Unbound*:

...To defy Power which seems Omnipotent;
To love, and bear, to hope, till Hope creates

⁷³ *Prometheus Unbound*, p. 180.

⁷⁴ *Bainbridge*, p. 149.

⁷⁵ Byron, 'Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte' in J. McGann, ed., *Byron* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 257.

⁷⁶ *Dynasts III*, p. 525.

From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change nor falter nor repent:
This like thy glory, Titan! Is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory.⁷⁷

These words are spoken by Demogorgon, who actually ‘drags Jupiter down into the abyss of chaos’, and is described as ‘the ultimate motive source of the chain of events known as Necessity’ and the ‘Genius of the Earth’. This ‘ultimate motive source’ has an equivalent in Hardy’s Immanent Will which he optimistically hopes will eventually ‘fashion all things fair’. It is significant, however, that this optimism was not to last for long, for after the First World War Hardy confessed that ‘had he written *The Dynasts* after the Treaty of Versailles he could not have closed it upon a note of hope’.⁷⁸

Earlier in this chapter I referred to G. Glen Wickens’s attempt to redefine *The Dynasts* as a novel and how this might enable a closer comparison with works such as *The Mayor of Casterbridge* in which Hardy explores the effects of historical change on ordinary people, and also provides a setting in which the meaning of Empire may be considered. The supposition that Hardy sympathised with those who felt betrayed when Napoleon declared himself emperor, thus replicating the old dynastic order, is reinforced by Wickens’s interpretation, in which he sees *The Dynasts* as employing the concept of Carnival. Traditionally carnival played a levelling, or even subversive role in society, challenging authority and ‘establishing an inverted order in which fools and outsiders become kings for the day’.⁷⁹ Wickens suggests that Hardy applied the concept of carnival to the Napoleonic Wars, showing

⁷⁷ *Prometheus Unbound*, p. 210.

⁷⁸ Thomas Hardy, quoted in ‘A Literary History of England’, ed. Albert C. Baugh (New York, 1948), p. 1470, in Orel, p. 89.

⁷⁹ David Macey, *The Penguin Dictionary of Critical Theory* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2001), p. 29.

that the struggle for power in Europe involved ‘the mass actions of armies and crowds’ transforming the battlefield ‘into a marketplace that can challenge all authority’.⁸⁰ One way in which authority is challenged in *The Dynasts* is by the unconventional use of different speech forms and the overriding of the tradition which links ‘speech to knowledge in a hierarchy that has poetry at the top and prose at the bottom’.⁸¹ Instead poetry and prose are used at all levels of society and this is particularly significant in the language used by the Prince Regent, who, contrary to traditional expectation, speaks frequently in a type of prose more likely to be associated with the ordinary people, rather than in the elegant verse assigned to Napoleon. When the Prince Regent is embarrassed by the King of Prussia’s and Emperor of Russia’s suggestion that they should visit the Princess of Wales during the celebration of Wellington’s victories, he says: ‘Oh, damn the peace, and damn the war, and damn Boney, and damn Wellington’s victories! – the question is, how am I going to get over this infernal woman!’⁸² He obviously sees the war against Napoleon as an inconvenience, interfering with his own pleasurable pursuits, and in using the language of the common people his position as King is held up to ridicule, or in the words of Wickens the use of such language ‘brings out the other or hidden side of official truth’, the future king being ‘revealed as a carnivalesque pretender’.⁸³

In his extended chapter on *The Dynasts* Southerington makes a similar observation on the use of prose, saying that, ‘Broadly speaking, we might say that prose in *The Dynasts* is a symbol of ignorance – verse is a symbol of knowledge, and

⁸⁰ Wickens, p. xvi.

⁸¹ Wickens, p. xv.

⁸² *Dynasts* III, p. 428.

⁸³ Wickens, p. xv-xvi.

metaphorical verse a symbol of knowledge with added perception.’⁸⁴ However, he is in agreement with Wickens that in *The Dynasts* this hierarchy of form is unrelated to social hierarchy. Throughout *The Dynasts* the ordinary people of England and Europe are heard commenting on the actions of their rulers and in doing so serve to ‘unmask the pretensions of dynastic authority’.⁸⁵ One of the country folk observing the visit of King George to the coast during the period when a French invasion is expected says of the King ‘He’s a very obstinate and comical old gentleman’, and another replies:

‘Lard, Lard, if a were nabbed, it wouldn’t make a deal of difference! We should have nobody to zing to, and play single-stick to, and grin at through horse-collars, that’s true. And nobody to sign our few documents. But we should rub along some way, goodnow’.⁸⁶

This irreverent attitude to authority is found throughout Hardy’s writings and particularly so in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* where the inhabitants of Mixen Lane form a subversive counterbalance to the leaders of the community. I have previously described how, in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, the rise and fall of Michael Henchard is set against the reminders of the rise and fall of the once powerful Roman Empire,⁸⁷ and a direct comparison may also be made between Hardy’s portrayal of Henchard and that of the Emperor Napoleon in *The Dynasts*. In the novel Hardy explicitly makes this comparison when he says that the ‘dinner at the King’s Arms with his friends had been Henchard’s Austerlitz: he had had his successes since, but his courses had not been upward’.⁸⁸ The Battle of Austerlitz, in which Napoleon defeated the Austrians and Russians was the high point of his career, and it is no

⁸⁴ F.R.Southerington, *Hardy’s Vision of Man* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1971), p. 183. Hereafter cited as Southerington.

⁸⁵ Wickens, p. xvi.

⁸⁶ *Dynasts* I, p. 47.

⁸⁷ See Chapter 2, p. 68.

⁸⁸ Thomas Hardy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge* [1886] (London: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 206.

doubt true, as Wickens suggests, that Hardy is comparing Henchard's 'struggles in the marketplace' with 'Napoleon's on the battlefield'.⁸⁹ Another significant point of comparison between the two works is the burning of the effigy of Napoleon at Durnover Green in Casterbridge in *The Dynasts*, and the making of the effigies of Henchard and Lucetta by the people of Mixen Lane in Durnover in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. In addition to sharing a common location the similarity of the two scenes is further emphasised by the presence in both of the character Solomon Longways. The skimmity-ride for which the effigies of Henchard and Lucetta are made was an old rural tradition, the aim of which was to expose and shame those thought to be guilty of transgressing the accepted moral code. In exposing Henchard in this way the inhabitants of Mixen Lane are employing the tradition of carnival, in which the common people are challenging a once powerful authority figure. In *The Dynasts* the same people gather to burn an effigy of Napoleon before the Battle of Waterloo and in so doing pass their own judgement on someone who had sought to achieve the supreme position of power, that of Emperor.

Hardy, Turner, Tolstoy and the Napoleonic Wars

'Yes', he cried, growing more and more excited, 'Napoleon is great because he towered above the Revolution, suppressed its abuses, preserving all that was good in it – equality of citizenship and freedom of speech and of the press – and that was the only reason he possessed himself of power'.⁹⁰ (Pierre Bezuhov in July 1805.)

'Yes, alone for the sake of all, I must accomplish this deed or perish!' he mused. 'Yes, I will go up to him...and then suddenly...Shall it be with a pistol or dagger? But no matter. "Not I but the hand of Providence punishes thee", I shall tell him', thought Pierre, pondering the words he would say as he killed Napoleon.⁹¹ (Pierre Bezuhov in September, 1812.)

⁸⁹ Wickens, p. 114.

⁹⁰ L.N.Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, Vol.1 [1869] (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1957), p. 21.

⁹¹ L.N.Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, Vol.2 [1869] (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1957), p. 1068. Hereafter cited as *War and Peace*.

The influence of the poet Shelley on Hardy's writings is generally accepted, but in this section I look at two other influences on Hardy which were particularly important when he was planning and writing *The Dynasts* and who both shared, to a certain extent, his views on war, imperial ambition and the impact of historical change on ordinary people. One of these influences, the painter J.M.W. Turner, produced his most important works in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the other, the novelist Leo Tolstoy, in the latter half.

In her article on Hardy and Turner, Annie Escuret claims that in their respective fields they both 'contributed to outdating the artistic experience of the generations which preceded them,' and 'both represent a breaking-point, on the eve of the birth of new works',⁹² in other words a break away from the realistic novel and representational art.

In 1842 Turner exhibited two paintings at the Royal Academy exhibition. One was *Peace - Burial at Sea* in memory of his friend, the painter David Wilkie who had died of malaria on his journey back from the Middle East, and the other was *War - The Exile and the Rock Limpet* which portrayed Napoleon in exile on St Helena. In the painting Napoleon is depicted as a minute figure in a turbulent landscape, standing at the edge of a rock pool, his reflected head in the water lying close to a limpet attached to a small rock. The image of a diminutive Napoleon is used by Hardy, when after Napoleon's farewell to Marie Louise following his defeat at Leipzig, the Spirit of the Years says:

⁹² Annie Escuret, 'Thomas Hardy and J.M.W. Turner', in Lance St. John Butler ed., *Alternative Hardy* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1989), p. 205. Hereafter cited as Escuret.

Until his image in her soul will shape
Dwarfed as a far Colossus on a plain
Or figure-head that smalls upon the main.⁹³

In his *Life of Napoleon*, which was in Hardy's library at Max Gate,⁹⁴ Hazlitt frequently refers to Napoleon as a Colossus, as when describing his return to France from exile on Elba:

Buonaparte seemed from his first landing to bestride the country like a Colossus, for in him rose up once more the prostrate might and majesty of man; and the Bourbons, like toads or spiders, got out of the way of the huge shadow of the Child Roland of the Revolution.⁹⁵

Turner's depiction of Napoleon and Hardy's description of him as a dwarfed Colossus reflect how the once powerful Emperor has been reduced to an insignificant figure in the vast landscape of Europe.

There are several possible interpretations of this painting and it is well known that Turner took an idiosyncratic pleasure in encouraging his friends and colleagues to guess at the possible meaning of a particular painting. Ruskin recalls being shown *War, the Exile and the Rock Limpet*: '[Turner] tried hard one day for a quarter of an hour to make me guess what he was doing in the picture of Napoleon before it had been exhibited, giving me hint after hint in a rough way; but I could not guess and he would not tell me.'⁹⁶ There is no doubt that Hardy would have seen this painting on his frequent visits to the Royal Academy. In *The Life* he describes a visit he made in

⁹³ *Dynasts*, III, p. 401.

⁹⁴ Michael Millgate, 'Hardy's Max Gate Library', www.library.utoronto.ca/fisher/hardy (accessed 3/06/07).

⁹⁵ Hazlitt, 'Life of Napoleon Bonaparte' [1828-30] in Theresa M Kelley, 'J.M.W. Turner, Napoleonic Caricature, and Romantic Allegory' in *ELH: Vol.58, No.2* (Summer, 1991), p. 374.

⁹⁶ John Ruskin, 'Modern Painters, vol.5, p.435, quoted in Sam Smiles, *J.M.W. Turner* (London: Tate Publishing, 2000), p. 14.

January, 1889, during which he saw “The Burial of Wilkie”,⁹⁷ the painting originally named *Peace: Burial at Sea*, which was exhibited alongside *War, the Exile and the Rock Limpet*. In Part One of *The Dynasts* he seems to provide a credible interpretation of the meaning of *War*: Napoleon, in speaking of England’s imperial ambitions, says:

Her rock rimmed situation walls her off
Like a slim selfish mollusc in its shell
From the wide views and fair fraternities
Which on the mainland we reciprocate,
And quicks her quest for profit in our woes! ⁹⁸

It is easy to imagine that Napoleon’s contemplation of the rock limpet surrounded by water is accompanied by thoughts of the part played by Britain in his downfall. Another interpretation however is provided by the lines Turner appended to the painting when it was exhibited. These lines were taken from his poem *The Fallacies of Hope*, sections of which he used as epigraphs for some of his paintings. In his notes to the Turner Bequest, Ruskin points out that the lines ‘are very important, being the only verbal expression of that association in his mind of sunset colour with blood’.⁹⁹

‘Ah, thy tent-formed shell is like
A soldier’s nightly bivouac, alone
Amidst a sea of blood.’ ¹⁰⁰

Here the limpet’s shell is likened to a soldier’s temporary shelter on the battlefield, although Turner’s crimson sunset seems more likely to represent the chaos and bloodshed left behind after the defeat of Napoleon. Rather than representing any soldier’s shelter the limpet on its rock could equally represent Napoleon himself on

⁹⁷ *Life*, p. 216.

⁹⁸ *Dynasts* I, p. 125.

⁹⁹ William Ruskin quoted by George P. Landow, www.victorianweb.org/authors/ruskin/atheories (accessed 9/06/07).

¹⁰⁰ J.M.W. Turner, ‘The Fallacies of Hope’ in Jack Lindsay *Turner: The Man and his Art* (London: Granada Publishing Ltd., 1985), p. 147. Hereafter cited as Lindsay.

his island exile, but as Turner did not fully explain any allegory inherent in the painting Hardy's explanation is equally valid. It may be that as Ruskin suggested in his conversation with Turner, the artist was allowing the viewer to make his own interpretation of the painting. In discussing his attraction to 'the much decried, mad, late-Turner', Hardy says that 'the exact truth as to material fact ceases to be of importance in art',¹⁰¹ and later, 'art is the secret of how to produce by a false thing the effect of a true.'¹⁰² When he says 'I want to see the deeper reality underlying the scenic, the expression of what are sometimes called abstract imaginings',¹⁰³ he may well be providing an insight into his own approach when writing *The Dynasts* as well as expressing his feelings on the late works of Turner. This may go some way to explaining his reluctance to quote his historical sources, for although based on historical fact, Hardy used this work to explore philosophical ideas on freewill and determinism and the effects of war and imperial expansionism, just as in his painting Turner is showing how the once powerful Napoleon has been reduced to a puppet like figure, leaving death and destruction behind him. The image of man as a puppet is used by Hardy in his poem *Thoughts at Midnight*, which was written while he was working on *The Dynasts*, and Bailey suggests that the poem is referring to those, like Napoleon, who are 'puppets of the Immanent Will'.¹⁰⁴ Southerington agrees that in *The Dynasts* Hardy is using Napoleon to represent the type of man 'acting without sympathy and loving-kindness [...] obsessed by his own ambition and indifferent to the results for others.'¹⁰⁵

Mankind, you dismay me...
Acting like puppets

¹⁰¹ *Life*, p. 185.

¹⁰² *Life*, p. 216.

¹⁰³ *Life*, p. 185.

¹⁰⁴ Bailey, p. 576.

¹⁰⁵ Southerington, p. 172.

Under Time's buffets;
In superstitions
And ambitions
Moved by no wisdom,
Far-sight, or system,
Led by sheer senselessness
And presciencelessness
Into unreason
And hideous self-treason (CP, 836)

It is interesting that in Turner's painting the image of Napoleon as a puppet, subject to unconscious forces, is set against a landscape depicting the violent, active forces in Nature, forces which Hardy was to associate with the Immanent Will.¹⁰⁶

Both Hardy and Turner expressed their feelings about the pointlessness and savagery of war in their depictions of the Battle of Waterloo. Turner produced two paintings entitled *The Field of Waterloo*, the first in 1817 being a small water colour and the second in the following year being a much larger oil painting. In the former the corpses of French and British troops in their blue and scarlet uniforms lie piled on top of one another in pools of red blood and in the background a violent storm is raging echoing the violence of the battle which has just come to an end. The lines from Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* which Turner used to accompany the painting; 'rider and horse – friend, foe, in one red burial blent,'¹⁰⁷ seem particularly apt. The subject matter of the larger oil painting is similar but with the addition of a group of women who are moving amongst the dead bodies, searching under the light of a flare which is illuminating the battlefield. It is clear that in both these paintings Turner is not depicting a great patriotic victory but the inevitable result of imperial ambition and the effect that it has on ordinary men and women. A.G.H. Bachrach describes the painting as an expression 'of a social criticism as personal and eloquent

¹⁰⁶ *Life*, p. 320.

¹⁰⁷ Byron, 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage' in Jerome J. McGann ed., *Byron* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 112.

as that of the best Romantic poetry of the time'.¹⁰⁸ In *The Dynasts* the aftermath of the battle of Waterloo is described by Hardy using words rather than images, but the message is similar:

When the tramlings and shouts of the combatants have dwindled, the lower sounds are noticeable that come from the wounded: hopeless appeals, cries for water, elaborate blasphemies, and impotent execrations of Heaven and hell. In the vast and dusky shambles black slouching shapes begin to move, the plunderers of the dead and dying.¹⁰⁹

These words are immediately followed by the Spirit of the Years comment:

And Europe's wormy dynasties rerobe
Themselves in their old gilt, to dazzle anew the globe!¹¹⁰

One potential dynasty has been defeated only to be replaced by others and it is the ordinary people who suffer. In the words of the Spirit Ironical:

Warfare mere,
Plied by the Managed for the Managers;
To wit: by frenzied folks who profit nought
For those who profit all!¹¹¹

Similar sentiments were voiced by one commentator on Turner's painting saying that it depicted 'Ambition's charnel-house' and 'the slaughtered victims of legitimate selfishness and wickedness'.¹¹²

Around the same time as Turner was painting his two versions of the battle of Waterloo he also produced two paintings depicting the rise and fall of a great empire of the past. The first, exhibited in 1815 was *Dido Building Carthage: or the Rise of the Carthaginian Empire*, and the second in 1817 was *The Decline of the Carthaginian Empire*. The former shows Dido, Queen of Carthage, supervising the architects of the city. Light from the rising sun suffuses the scene and a group of

¹⁰⁸ A.G.H. Bachrach, 'The Field of Waterloo' in 'Turner Studies, II (1980), in Lindsay, p. 86.

¹⁰⁹ *Dynasts* III, p. 518.

¹¹⁰ *Dynasts* III, p. 518.

¹¹¹ *Dynasts* III, p. 515.

¹¹² The Examiner, quoted in Lindsay, p. 86.

children play with toy boats producing an atmosphere of peace and optimism suggesting the dawn of a new empire. Virgil's *Aeneid* tells the story of how Aeneas fleeing from Troy which had been destroyed by the Greeks, lands in Carthage and becomes Dido's lover. However, the Gods order Aeneas to leave for Italy in order to found Rome and after Dido's suicide Carthage and Rome become permanent enemies, the ensuing Punic Wars resulting in the destruction of Carthage. At the time of the Napoleonic wars many people in Britain saw a parallel in the enmity between Carthage and Rome and that between France and Britain, and in the second painting Turner does seem to be providing a warning about the results of imperial expansionism and the fate that can befall a country preoccupied with the pursuit of land and wealth. In this painting the setting sun, the groups of mourning figures and the rounding up of hostages by the Romans produces an atmosphere of decline and decay. *Dido Building Carthage*, painted in the year of the victory at Waterloo, reflects the possibility of peace and hope in post-war Europe, but *The Decline of the Carthaginian Empire* warns of what will happen if Britain continues with selfish, expansionist policies. Writing *The Dynasts* nearly one hundred years after Turner had expressed his feelings on empire in paint, Hardy had even more reason to fear the consequences of imperial greed. He had seen and written about the consequences of the war in Africa and was witnessing the build-up to another catastrophic war in Europe. The words he gives to Pitt in *The Dynasts* could apply as equally to Britain as to France:

Realms, laws, peoples, dynasties,
Are churning to a pulp within the maw
Of empire-making Lust and personal Gain! ¹¹³

¹¹³ *Dynasts*, I, p. 128.

Turner's use of the ancient empires of Rome and Carthage to demonstrate the temporary nature of empire was also a device used by Hardy, as discussed in the previous chapter. In his Rome poems he talks of 'The power, the pride, the reach of perished Rome' (CP, 102), just as Turner shows the power and then decline of Carthage. In his 'Liber Studiorum' Turner also contrasts ancient and modern Rome in his engravings of *Ancient Italy* and *Modern Italy*. It seems that both Turner and Hardy were using these lessons from the past to reflect on the nature of empires in the present.

Tolstoy's *War and Peace* was published in 1869 and became available in an English translation by Nathan Haskell Dole in 1889. Hardy possessed a four volume edition of this translation, published by Walter Scott, which is now in the Dorset County Museum. The edition is not dated but it seems likely that Hardy acquired it in the early 1890s when he was starting to make notes for *The Dynasts*. In a conversation with the French journalist and literary editor, Frédéric Lefèvre in 1925, Hardy is quoted as saying:

at the moment when I was carrying *The Dynasts* around in my mind, I had occasion to read *War and Peace* by Tolstoi, whose *Anna Karenina* I had just finished with keen interest. I had carefully kept from reading it hitherto because I thought the subject of the book and its orchestration too closely related to what I was trying to do myself.¹¹⁴

It is significant that the volumes do contain pencil markings made by Hardy, the most obvious of these being in Volume IV, in what is now the second part of the Epilogue to the novel, in which Tolstoy puts forward his ideas on freewill and historical determinism, ideas explored by Hardy in *The Dynasts*. (See p. 125 below).

¹¹⁴ Thomas Hardy, quoted in Frédéric Lefèvre, 'An Hour with Thomas Hardy,' *Living Age*, 325 (11 April 1925), 98-103, in Martin Ray, *Thomas Hardy Remembered* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), p. 285.

In addition to Hardy's copy of *War and Peace* the Hardy papers in the Dorset County Museum also include a draft manuscript of part of Part III of *The Dynasts* in which Hardy writes 'W and P' or 'Tol' alongside certain passages. In the 1950s Emma Clifford made a detailed study of this manuscript and concluded that Hardy had used *War and Peace* as 'a source of facts that are necessary material for the writing of his work' and that it is 'only one of many works he consults to find facts to illustrate a theme that is already well formed in his mind'.¹¹⁵ The idea that Hardy was using Tolstoy's novel as a historical text in the same way as he used the many histories of the Napoleonic Wars which he possessed might seem strange, but it must be remembered that he did not quote any historical sources, and that much of his material came from the reminiscences of local people and from newspaper articles, the accuracy of which could not be verified. Clifford points out that 'even the smallest of facts in his epic drama can be traced to its source, and some of the briefest passages can be shown to have been derived from more than one of many literary or historical sources'.¹¹⁶ Neither Hardy nor Tolstoy were writing histories of the Napoleonic Wars but rather using the inter-dynastic conflicts to show the effect of war and personal or national ambition on the lives of ordinary people. However, there are differences in the approach of the two writers as Clifford comments:

in his novel Tolstoy is creating a world at war, a world inhabited by human beings whose lives are influenced by their relationships with one another as well as by the historical events of their time; while in his epic drama Hardy is creating a world of war, a world in which the identities of human beings and the relationships between human personalities are integrated into, and sometimes overwhelmed by, a living whole of violence and suffering.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Emma Clifford, "'War and Peace' and 'The Dynasts'" in *Modern Philology*, Vol.54, No. 1 (Aug. 1956), p. 38. Hereafter cited as Clifford.

¹¹⁶ Clifford, p. 42.

¹¹⁷ Clifford, p. 43.

These differences are obviously important but I would suggest that the similarity between the two works is greater than Clifford argues when she says 'the differences between Tolstoy's novel and Hardy's epic drama are so wide and so deep that the only common ground between them would seem to be that they are concerned with the same period of history'.¹¹⁸ The clue to this similarity lies in Hardy's marking of certain passages in the Epilogue to volume IV of his copy of *War and Peace*, in which Tolstoy attempts to answer the question: 'What is the force that moves nations?',¹¹⁹ and are leaders like Napoleon acting of their own free will, or are they subject to certain 'laws of necessity' inherent in historical progress. Hegel said 'the great world-historical man of his time is he who expresses the will and the meaning of that time, and then brings it to completion',¹²⁰ although, as discussed in the previous chapter, Hegel's views on historical progress were not shared by Hardy, nor, as will be seen here, by Tolstoy.

Tolstoy argues that just as physical objects are subject to scientific laws, so man is subject to historical laws, and in a passage marked by Hardy he says: 'The recognition of man's freewill as a force capable of influencing historical events, that is, as not subject to laws, is the same for history as the recognition of a free force moving the heavenly bodies would be for astronomy.'¹²¹ It is in the nature of this force controlling the activities of men and nations that the difference between Tolstoy and Hardy lies. According to Tolstoy, 'only the Deity, who is stirred to action by no temporal agency, can by His sole will determine the direction of

¹¹⁸ Clifford, p. 43.

¹¹⁹ *War and Peace*, p. 1404.

¹²⁰ G.W.F.Hegel in Jacob Loewenberg, ed., *Hegel: Selections* (New York: C.Scribner and Sons, 1929), p. 461.

¹²¹ *War and Peace*, p. 1440.

humanity's movement,'¹²² but for Hardy, the 'laws of necessity' arise from another force which he called the Immanent Will. The difference between these two interpretations is illustrated by a passage from *The Dynasts* which Hardy based on a passage from *War and Peace*. After the massacre at Borodino the Spirit of the Years says:

Thus do the mindless minions of the spell
In mechanised enchantment sway and show
A Will that wills above the will of each,
Yet but the will of all conjunctively;
A fabric of excitement, web of rage,
That permeates as one stuff the weltering whole.¹²³

The equivalent passage in Dole's translation of *War and Peace*, 'and still that strange affair went on which was accomplished, not by the will of men, but by the will of Him who rules men and worlds',¹²⁴ signifies the presence of a controlling supernatural force which determines the course of history. A similar force is described by Raskolnikoff in Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, written within a few years of *War and Peace*. He felt that 'all liberty of action and free-will were gone, and everything was irrevocably decided'. He was 'impelled, apparently, by some blind, irresistible, supernatural force'.¹²⁵ This is very different from Hardy's Will which is not outside nature but part of nature, that 'permeates as one stuff the weltering whole'. All references to the Will in *The Dynasts* associate it with very physical attributes. In the Fore-Scene the Spirit of the Years says:

These are the Prime Volitions, - fibrils, veins,
Will-tissues, nerves, and pulses of the Cause,
That heave throughout the Earth's compositure.¹²⁶

¹²² *War and Peace*, p. 1419.

¹²³ *Dynasts* III, p. 344.

¹²⁴ L.N.Tolstoy, *War and Peace* III, trans. Nathan Haskell Dole (London: Walter Scott), p. 281.

¹²⁵ Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *Crime and Punishment* [1866] (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1997), pp. 50, 57. Hereafter cited as *Crime and Punishment*.

¹²⁶ *Dynasts* I, p. 7.

The Will is often compared to a web or a brain, as during the battle of Austerlitz ‘the controlling Immanent Will appears therein, as a brain-like network of currents and ejections, twitching, interpenetrating, entangling and thrusting hither and thither the human forms’,¹²⁷ or at Waterloo the Immanent Will appears as a ‘web connecting all the apparently separate shapes including Wellington in its tissue with the rest’.¹²⁸ The use of words such as fibrils, veins, nerves and tissues endow the Will with biological characteristics and it is tempting to impose a retrospective interpretation on Hardy’s Will; that of our combined genetic inheritance which links us together like a web and controls our actions and behaviour. Hardy himself drew towards such an interpretation in various discussions with friends on the use of the word ‘Will’, rather than alternatives such as ‘Power’ or ‘Impulse’. In a letter to Edward Clodd in 1904 he says, “‘Power’ would not do, as power can be suspended or withheld, and the forces of Nature cannot,”¹²⁹ and in writing to Edward Wright he says, ‘The word you suggest- Impulse- seems to me to imply a driving power behind it; also a spasmodic movement unlike that of, say, the tendency of an ape to become a man and other such processes.’¹³⁰

Hardy’s conception of the Will as being part of Nature may have evolved from his reading of the works of the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer, although in 1909 he expresses the hope that his own philosophy is ‘much more modern than Schopenhauer’ (CL, IV, 37). The previous year he had claimed that the Will in *The Dynasts* is ‘regarded as becoming conscious; and it teaches other evolutionary doctrines that have grown up since Schopenhauer’s time’ (CL, III, 351). Walter Wright makes the point, however, that although Schopenhauer ‘began with the

¹²⁷ *Dynasts* I, p. 118.

¹²⁸ *Dynasts* III, p. 505.

¹²⁹ *Life*, p. 320.

¹³⁰ *Life*, p. 334.

assumption that man was not free and that [...] the Will was unconscious of its own nature', he later 'evolved an interesting distinction that permitted freedom of man and self-consciousness for the Will'.¹³¹ In *On Human Nature* he says that man 'is the very Will itself [...] the union of Thought and Will', and should therefore be able to 'perceive what this will is and what horrors it contains'.¹³² Schopenhauer believes that it is only great men like Napoleon who are able to act out the demands of the will, because, in the interests of the general welfare, the State, and more recently, the Church, will normally check 'the manifestation of the bad will'. Dostoyevsky's Raskolnikoff similarly believes that all great leaders of men like Napoleon 'have one and all been criminals, for, whilst giving new laws, they have naturally broken through older ones which had been faithfully observed by society and transmitted by its progenitors'.¹³³ Schopenhauer maintains that most men would act like Napoleon if they could, seeking their own welfare 'at the expense of others' and that what distinguished Napoleon was 'the greater power he had of satisfying his will, and greater intelligence, reason and courage', Napoleon was 'only a forcible example of the will to live' which is 'the object for which the world exists'.¹³⁴ This 'will to live' inherent in Nature is comparable with Hardy's idea of the Will as an evolutionary force in keeping with Darwin's theory of Natural Selection. Before the battle of Borodino Hardy's Napoleon talks of 'the force' which continually moves him onwards and ponders:

... Why am I here?
By laws imposed on me inexorably!
History makes use of me to weave her web

¹³¹ Walter F Wright, *The Shaping of The Dynasts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), p. 46.

¹³² Arthur Schopenhauer, *On Human Nature*, trans. T.Bailey Saunders (New York: Cosimo, Inc., 2007), p. 85. Hereafter cited as *On Human Nature*.

¹³³ *Crime and Punishment*, p. 194.

¹³⁴ *On Human Nature*, p. 86.

To her long while aforetime-figured mesh
And contemplated character...¹³⁵

Schopenhauer's description of man's nature as 'the union of Thought and Will' is reflected to some extent by Tolstoy in *War and Peace*. He says:

There are two sides to the life of every man; there is his individual existence which is free in proportion as his interests are abstract; and his elemental life as a unit in the human swarm, in which he must inevitably obey the laws laid down for him.¹³⁶

Tolstoy suggests that men like Napoleon are instruments for 'the accomplishment of historical and social ends', and although he agrees with Schopenhauer that Napoleon was able to act to satisfy the demands of the will because of his superior power and ability, he sees that when men as a whole are unrestrained they will act together as a body with a combined will. The slaughter at Borodino 'was not decided by Napoleon's will but [...] in accord with the will of the hundreds of thousands of individuals who took part in the common action'.¹³⁷ According to Schopenhauer the restraints placed upon man normally prevent him from realising 'what the will, in its horrible nature, really is' condemning him to living in a 'fools' paradise'.¹³⁸

Nietzsche, who was much influenced by the writings of Schopenhauer, did not share his view on the 'horrible nature' of the will, and would not have agreed with Tolstoy that the mass of people could act together with a combined will. He describes Napoleon as 'the aristocratic ideal in itself [...] that synthesis of Monster and Superman', the 'beast of prey' who was 'rampant for spoil and victory',¹³⁹ or as Pitt describes it in *The Dynasts* 'empire-making Lust and personal Gain'.¹⁴⁰ For

¹³⁵ *Dynasts*, III, p. 330.

¹³⁶ *War and Peace*, p. 718.

¹³⁷ *War and Peace*, p. 933.

¹³⁸ *On Human Nature*, p. 85.

¹³⁹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Genealogy of Morals*, first pub. 1913 (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 2003), pp. 22, 32. Hereafter cited as *Genealogy of Morals*.

¹⁴⁰ *Dynasts*, I, p. 128.

Nietzsche, Napoleon was the prime representative of his 'aristocratic' race and at his appearance 'the ancient ideal itself swept before the eyes and conscience of humanity with all its life and with unheard-of splendour [...] in opposition to the will to lowliness, abasement and equalisation'.¹⁴¹ More than forty years earlier Dostoyevsky had voiced similar ideas in *Crime and Punishment* when Raskolnikoff maintains that 'Nature divides men into two categories: the first, an inferior one, comprising ordinary men [...] the other, a superior one, comprising men who have the gift or power to make a new word, thought or deed felt'.¹⁴² According to Nietzsche 'the very essence of all civilisation is to train out of man, the beast of prey', and to turn him into 'a tame and civilised animal'.¹⁴³ If the will to power is the driving force behind empire-making then it may seem a strange paradox that the empire builders often used the spread of civilisation and Christianity as reasons for their activities, when according to Nietzsche these are the very forces working to suppress the will to power. However as Schopenhauer suggests, it is in the nature of Christianity to deny the true nature of the will, encouraging men to live in a 'fools' paradise,' and the civilised exterior of the dynastic empire builders might indeed hide Nietzsche's beast of prey, 'rampant for spoil and victory'.

In *The Dynasts*, Hardy shows that although he agreed with Tolstoy on the absence of freewill in leaders like Napoleon, he did not believe that the force behind their actions came from a divine power. In 1904 he wrote a letter to *The Times* in which he asks to be allowed to express a few words on his view of 'Count Tolstoy's philosophic sermon on war,' and suggests that many people, presumably including

¹⁴¹ *Genealogy of Morals*, p. 32.

¹⁴² *Crime and Punishment*, p. 194.

¹⁴³ *Genealogy of Morals*, p. 23.

himself, 'may be unable to see advantage in the writer's use of theological terms for describing and illustrating the moral evolutions of past ages'.¹⁴⁴

The major characteristic which Hardy shares with both Turner and Tolstoy is his abhorrence of war as a means of settling disputes between nations, and all three were intent on showing the savagery and pointlessness of war and the effect which it has on ordinary people. Hardy concludes his letter to *The Times* by asserting that any objections to Tolstoy's reasonings should be hidden 'by the blaze of glory that shines from his masterly general indictment of war as a modern principle, with all its senseless and illogical crimes'.¹⁴⁵

Harold Orel maintains that '*The Dynasts* is surely one of the most eloquent and moving anti-war jeremiads of world literature',¹⁴⁶ and it is perhaps this aspect of the work which led to its increased popularity around the time of the First World War. At a public reading of part of *The Dynasts* in December 1916, Hardy noted, 'it is, indeed, no less than extraordinary that an additional centenary of civilisation and moral effort have resulted in greater barbarities by far than any of those the much abused Bonaparte ever put in force against us'.¹⁴⁷

The century between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the beginning of the First World War as well as seeing the strengthening of European Dynastic rule saw the strengthening and expansion of Britain's Imperial role. After the threat posed by Napoleon was removed the British Empire was comparatively free to expand. Patrick Colquhoun, a political arithmetician at the time, used the work of Malthus on expanding population together with his own research on the wealth and resources of

¹⁴⁴ *Life*, p. 322.

¹⁴⁵ *Life*, p. 322.

¹⁴⁶ Harold Orel, in *Oxford Reader's Companion to Hardy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 117.

¹⁴⁷ Thomas Hardy in 'The Times (December 9, 1916), p. 11, in Orel, p. 88.

the British Empire to show that Britain was capable of almost unlimited expansion. In the words of Linda Colley, 'he boasted that "the sun never sets on the flag", and that successful global war against Napoleon had demonstrated once and for all "the practicality of conquest". There need be no more fears of imperial expansion draining Britain's economy and population.'¹⁴⁸ Indeed, the hundred years of comparative peace between 1815 and 1914 gave Britain 'freedom to concentrate on global empire'. As Hardy's Spirits forecast in *The Dynasts*, Britain and the other European powers were all too ready to play 'Napoleon's game'.¹⁴⁹

In this chapter I have shown how in *The Dynasts* Hardy uses the Napoleonic Wars and the career of Napoleon to explore many of his ideas on war, empire, historical progress and the philosophical debate on freewill and determinism. In this work he shows that all mankind, regardless of which side of the conflict they are situated, are equally under the control of the 'Immanent Will', and although not an unpatriotic work, all sides in the conflict are shown as being equally responsible for the resulting slaughter and suffering. Britain and the other European dynasties are shown as being as interested as Napoleon in spreading their influence and obtaining profit from conquest. Southerington agrees that *The Dynasts* 'is a powerfully humanist work, implicitly against what Marx would have called 'tsarism', and passionately opposed to war carried on for the sake of dynastic interests'.¹⁵⁰

Although Hardy's views may have seemed unconventional to the establishment they were views shared by many other writers and artists in the nineteenth century, those of the poet Shelley having been discussed previously in

¹⁴⁸ Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World 1600 – 1850* (London: Pimlico, 2003), p. 309-10.

¹⁴⁹ Orel, p. 80.

¹⁵⁰ Southerington, p. 188.

this chapter. In replying to some of his critics after the publication of the first part of

The Dynasts, Hardy says:

I suppose I have handicapped myself by expressing in this drama and previous verse, philosophies and feelings as yet not well established' and 'thus overstepping the standard boundary set up for the thoughts of the age by the proctors of opinion...If, instead of the machinery I adopted, I had constructed a theory of a world directed by fairies, nobody would have objected, and the critics would probably have said, "What a charming fancy of Mr. Hardy's!"¹⁵¹

Perhaps the concluding words of Annie Escuret to her article on Hardy and Turner

form an apt conclusion to this chapter and a point of entry to the themes of

colonisation explored in the following chapters:

'*The Dynasts*...reaffirms the rights of the cloud, the end of borders and the futility of genres'.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ *Life*, p. 320.

¹⁵² Escuret, p. 223.

Chapter 4: The Primitive and the Civilised

To assert, then, as Jude does, the claims of the 'foundation' against the arrogant smugness of the superstructures is to remind the Christminster dons of their debt to anonymous medieval workmen, to remind the present that it rests on a past which still has claims of right, to remind the metropolis of its debt to the periphery. Moreover, to locate, as Hardy does, Jude and the workmen in Christminster is to suggest that the past, the uncivilised, the unknowable is somehow immanent in the present, the civilised, the knowers; that each of these define themselves in opposition to one another through an act of exclusion which is really an act of self-division.¹

In this chapter I examine Hardy's interpretation of the relational terms 'primitive' and 'civilised' and consider the extent to which these terms may be used when discussing the relationship between the colonised and the coloniser. Annie Escuret's words, with which I concluded the previous chapter, have a particular relevance in this context, for when considering the terms 'primitive' and 'civilised' a myriad of binary oppositions are also suggested, amongst which 'backward and advanced', 'superstitious and rational', 'wanderers and settlers', 'marginal and central' are a few examples. Jacques Derrida described these binary oppositions as being characteristic of Western thought and of a patriarchal value system. In discussing Derrida's work, Terry Eagleton says:

deconstruction, that is to say, has grasped the point that the binary oppositions with which classical structuralism tends to work represent a way of seeing typical of ideologies. Ideologies like to draw rigid boundaries between what is acceptable and what is not.²

¹ Daniel Bivona, *Desire and Contradiction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 103. Hereafter cited as *Desire and Contradiction*.

² Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, 2nd. edn. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996), p. 115. Hereafter cited as Eagleton.

Derrida's ideas were developed by the French writer and theorist, Hélène Cixous, who maintains that 'thought has always worked through opposition',³ and whose work is mainly concerned with deconstructing the binary opposition between 'male' and 'female'. Cixous's work will be discussed more fully in the next chapter and her ideas on dual hierarchical oppositions are important in considering the extent to which, in his writings, Hardy attempts to deconstruct these oppositions. As Escuret discusses in her paper, Hardy's writings explore the gap between the two poles, the idea that man is 'a sum of things, a multiple or a series of possibles'.⁴ In other words, in his personal writings and in the novels and poems he is continually exploring ways in which borders may be demolished and 'the rights of the cloud' acknowledged. In doing so he exposes an ideology which 'has purged itself of ambiguity and alternative possibility'.⁵

Brett Neilson points out that Hardy's writing reveals a 'complex and contradictory attitude towards matters of social change and cultural difference',⁶ and in Chapter one I have discussed the seeming inconsistency of many of Hardy's views and his apparent ambiguity on many issues relating to social and economic change, and cultural and religious traditions. In this chapter I investigate this ambiguity in relation to Hardy's approach to ideas of the 'primitive' and 'civilised', and suggest that his rational relativism serves to demolish the barriers between the binary opposites outlined above. I have demonstrated in Chapter one how Hardy shows that late Victorian anxieties about the primitive and uncivilised may be overcome by

³ Hélène Cixous, 'Sorties' in Susan Sellers, ed., *The Hélène Cixous Reader* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 38.

⁴ Annie Escuret, 'Thomas Hardy and J.M.W. Turner', in Lance St. John Butler, ed., *Alternative Hardy* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1989), p. 223.

⁵ Eagleton, p. 117.

⁶ Brett Neilson, 'Hardy, Barbarism and the Transformations of Modernity', in Tim Dolin and Peter Widdowson, eds. *Thomas Hardy and Contemporary Literary Studies* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 68.

knowledge and understanding and that knowledge of other cultures leads to a sense of moral relativism, overcoming binary divisions. I have discussed how the process of colonisation was not confined to distant lands but could be said to be replicated, in important ways, within Britain and that the relationship between the landed gentry and the rural poor offered parallels to that between the coloniser and the colonised in the Empire.

In Chapter two I discussed how, in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, Hardy shows traditional ways of life being replaced by more progressive or advanced farming methods and how Henchard seems to represent the 'primitive' and superstitious whereas Farfrae symbolises the 'civilised' and rational. Hardy's 'complex and contradictory attitude' to these matters is suggested by his character Elizabeth-Jane's fears that the introduction of the horse-drill will mean that 'the romance of the sower is gone for good',⁷ and he discusses this conflict at some length in his essay 'The Dorsetshire Labourer'. Donald Davie, in his discussion of Hardy's poetry, notes that Hardy had documented in his writings 'the strains and the outright damage which applied science through industrialisation and urbanisation, had inflicted on the fabric of social and interpersonal relationships in the England that he knew' and that many readers see his work as 'a celebration of pre-industrial values'.⁸ However, Davie proceeds to demonstrate that Hardy's attitudes were indeed more complicated and ambiguous; that he was aware of the harsh conditions suffered by agricultural workers in the past and that he believed in the potential for improving these conditions through science and technology despite the human cost involved. In 'The Dorsetshire Labourer' Hardy acknowledges that the agricultural workers are 'losing their individuality, but they are widening the range of their ideas, and gaining in

⁷ Thomas Hardy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (London: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 240.

⁸ Donald Davie, *With the Grain* (Carcanet Press Limited, 1998), p. 29. Hereafter cited as *With the Grain*.

freedom. It is too much to expect them to remain stagnant and old-fashioned for the pleasure of romantic spectators'. However, he continues that 'while their pecuniary condition in the prime of life is bettered, and their freedom enlarged, they have lost touch with their environment'.⁹ His acknowledgement of the inevitability of change and progress is voiced in his address on receiving the freedom of Dorchester, in which he says: 'And when all has been said on the desirability of preserving as much as can be preserved, our power to preserve is largely an illusion [...] As a German author has said, "nothing is permanent but change."' ¹⁰ Of course change in itself does not necessarily imply progress and much of Hardy's writing shows that he was not a follower of the progressive-evolutionary scheme adopted by many of his contemporaries as a result of misunderstanding Darwin's theories. One such contemporary, the philosopher and social theorist, Herbert Spencer believed that evolution had a direction and an end-point and that in terms of social progress this meant that new, evolved societies were always better than those of the past.¹¹

Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* was published in 1859. The role that Darwin attributed to natural selection in the evolution of species was used by many to justify the belief in the superiority of western civilisation. As Gillian Beer says, 'the story of development tended to restore hierarchy and to place at its apex not only man in general, but contemporary European man in particular'.¹² A close reading of Darwin demonstrates the fallacy of these beliefs and it might be said that

⁹ Thomas Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer, in 'Longman's Magazine,' (July 1883, pp.252-269), in Harold Orel ed., *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 181-2.

¹⁰ *Life*, p. 352.

¹¹ See Peter J. Bowler, *Evolution: The History of an Idea* (London: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 220-2.

¹² Gillian Beer, *Darwin's Plots* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 107. Hereafter cited as *Darwin's Plots*.

the main theme of his later published work, *The Descent of Man* is to demonstrate the similarities, both physical and mental, between man and the other animals. He states as his object in one chapter 'to shew that there is no fundamental difference between man and the higher mammals in their mental faculties', and that 'the lower animals, like man, manifestly feel pleasure and pain, happiness and misery'.¹³

If Darwin removed man from his position at the peak of the natural hierarchy then it is not surprising that he also removed European man from his position at the summit of racial development. In one of his notebook entries he says, 'animals whom we have made our slaves we do not like to consider our equals – (Do not slave-holders wish to make the black man other kind).'¹⁴

Gillian Beer points to the assumption, prevalent in the nineteenth century, that 'the process of cultural change is one of improvement, and that the passage from ape to man can be charted through the degrees of development of diverse races'.¹⁵ In *The Descent of Man* Darwin strongly refutes these assumptions, maintaining that 'all of the races of man are descended from a single primitive stock' and 'resemble each other closely'.¹⁶

The idea of social evolution within the races and types of man was extended to provide some scientific justification for unequal treatment of the social classes within Europe. The attitude towards the rural labouring class shown by the visitor from London as described by Hardy in 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', exposes the connection between class and race which was used by the social Darwinists to add weight to their theories. E.B.Tylor, writing in the 1860s, says:

¹³ Charles Darwin *The Descent of Man* [1871] (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 287, 289. Hereafter cited as *Descent of Man*.

¹⁴ Charles Darwin, quoted in *Darwin's Plots*, p. 55.

¹⁵ *Darwin's Plots*, p. 107.

¹⁶ *Descent of Man*, p. 348.

Look at the modern European peasant using his hatchet and his hoe, see his food boiling or roasting over the log fire... hear his tale of the ghost in the nearest haunted house, and of the farmer's niece who was bewitched with knots inside till she fell into fits and died. If we choose out in this way things which have altered little in the long course of centuries, we may draw a picture where there shall be scarce a hand's breadth of difference between an English ploughman and a negro in Central Africa.¹⁷

Brett Neilson maintains that 'this same rhetoric of race is found in Hardy's own comments on the rural lower classes in Britain', and he cites a comment made by Hardy's friend Edward Clodd in reply to a query from Hardy as to why 'the superstitions of a remote Asiatic and a Dorset labourer are the same'.¹⁸ In his letter Clodd says:

The attitude of man at corresponding levels of culture, before like phenomena, is pretty much the same, your Dorset peasants representing the persistence of the barbaric idea which confuses persons and things, and founds wide generalizations on the slenderest analogies.¹⁹

Neilson, wrongly in my view, seems to conclude that Hardy shares Clodd's views as expressed in this letter. He believes that it is possible 'to implicate Hardy in the kind of progressive-evolutionary thought that identifies peasant or "Asiatic" cultures not as different but as backward – living examples of what advanced metropolitan civilisations might once have been'.²⁰ This interpretation is shared by Daniel Bivona who claims that 'Hardy evokes the popular evolutionary scale of cultural development to account for the persistence of the ancient customs and way of life of the rural lower classes in England'.²¹ However, both Neilson and Bivona fail to add Hardy's comment on Clodd's letter: 'This "barbaric idea which confuses persons and things" is, by the way, also common to the highest imaginative genius – that of the

¹⁷ E.B.Tylor, 'Primitive Culture', 4th edn. (London: John Murray, 1903), Vol.I, p. 6 in Andrew Radford, *Thomas Hardy and the Survivals of Time* (Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), pp. 8-9. Hereafter cited as *Survivals of Time*.

¹⁸ Neilson, pp. 67-8.

¹⁹ *Life*, p. 230.

²⁰ Neilson, p. 68.

²¹ *Desire and Contradiction*, p. 93.

poet.’²² Even Hardy’s description of Clodd’s comment as ‘an excellently neat answer’ seems to imply that it is too easy and simplistic a response. Neilson has to admit that ‘Hardy’s narrative fiction does not fully accord this progressive model of historical time, revealing a more complex and contradictory attitude’.²³ Hardy’s comment that the idea of confusing ‘persons and things’ is also a characteristic of the imaginative poet is fittingly demonstrated in his writing. Two passages from *The Woodlanders* illustrate this well; the first being a description of the woodman Giles Winterborne and the second a description of the wood itself:

He rose upon her memory as the fruit-god and the wood-god in alternation; sometimes leafy, and smeared with green lichen, as she had seen him amongst the sappy boughs of the plantations; sometimes cider- stained and starred with apple pips...²⁴

From the other window all she could see were more trees, in jackets of lichen, and stockings of moss [...] Next were more trees close together, wrestling for existence, their branches disfigured with wounds resulting from their mutual rubbings and blows [...] Beneath them were the rotting stumps of those of the group that had been vanquished long ago, rising from their mossy setting like black teeth from green gums (p. 307).

‘The conception of trees and plants as animated beings’²⁵ is discussed at some length by Sir James George Frazer in his study of magic and religion, *The Golden Bough*. He says ‘to the savage the world in general is animate, and trees and plants are no exception to the rule. He thinks that they have souls like his own, and he treats them accordingly’.²⁶ The anthropologist, E.B.Tylor, writing in the mid-1860s, developed a theory of animism, observing that a ‘childlike mind which can so attribute to any lifeless object a personal existence, a share in human life and thought...is indeed in the condition to which the religion and philosophy of the lower races for the most

²² *Life*, p. 230.

²³ Neilson, p. 68.

²⁴ Thomas Hardy, *The Woodlanders* [1887] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 274. Further reference will be made by page number in parenthesis.

²⁵ Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1924), p. 114. Hereafter cited as *Golden Bough*.

²⁶ *Golden Bough*, p. 111.

part evidently belong'.²⁷ Hardy knew Frazer's work well and had met him on several occasions, and the influence of Frazer and of E.B.Tylor on his work will be discussed later in this chapter. For Hardy, who had read the work of Darwin, the idea of a relationship between plants, animals and humans would not be a 'childlike' or 'primitive' concept, and his description of the trees 'wrestling for existence' demonstrates an awareness of Darwin's ideas on natural selection which apply to all living things.

Clodd's use of the word 'barbaric' is somewhat unfortunate as it implies a confusion between the terms 'barbaric' and 'primitive'. In the ancient world the term 'barbarian' was used for 'a member of a people not belonging to one of the major civilisations',²⁸ that is the Greek or Roman Empires. In other words it referred to the outsider or 'other' and these outsiders were by no means necessarily primitive except to the extent that they did not abide by the laws of the 'civilised' nations. It is largely due to Greek and Roman propaganda that the term 'barbaric' has become synonymous with savagery and brutality. Kristin Brady makes an important observation on Hardy's use of the term 'primitive' in his novels, particularly in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*: 'the idea of a "primitive" or "pagan" instinctiveness is often used by the novel's narrator to invoke sympathy for this character (Tess).'²⁹ Here primitivism or paganism is equated with the positive characteristic of instinctiveness as opposed to the affectation of 'civilised' behaviour. In *Jude the Obscure* Sue sees her own time as one of barbarism; 'When people of a later age look back upon the barbarous customs and superstitions of the times that we have the unhappiness to

²⁷ E.B.Tylor, 'The Religion of Savages', *Fortnightly Review* 6 (1866), 72, in *Survivals of Time*, p. 146.

²⁸ *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, Catherine Soanes, Angus Stevenson, eds., 11th edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

²⁹ Kristin Brady, 'Thomas Hardy and Matters of Gender' in D.Kramer, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Hardy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 96.

live in, what will they say!’³⁰ It becomes clear that in Hardy’s mind the division between primitive and civilised is by no means obvious and that barbarism, which Sue sees as a contrast to pagan joyousness, can be part of both the primitive and the civilised. This view is reinforced by Brett Neilson who begins his essay on barbarism and modernity with a quote from Walter Benjamin: ‘There is no document of civilisation which is not at the same time a document of barbarism.’³¹

It is essential at this point, particularly before looking at the relationship between barbarism and imperialism, to clarify the various interpretations of the word ‘barbarian’. These range from the initial meaning of a foreigner or outsider, who spoke a different language, through Clodd’s and others use of the word to denote a primitive, uncultured or uncivilised person, to Sue’s implication in *Jude the Obscure* that a barbarian is a savage, cruel and brutal person and that the repressive social system under which she and Jude are living is in fact a barbaric system. The equating of primitivism with savagery and brutality was a useful concept for the nineteenth century colonisers to adopt. In the words of Neilson, ‘Imperialism [...] casts the colonial “native” as a barbarian in order to justify a “civilising mission” that itself enacts the violence and oppression of barbarism.’³² Neilson cites J.M.Coetzee’s novel *Waiting for the Barbarians*, in which ‘the barbarians are a group of nomadic tent-dwellers who wage war against an imperial outpost. At the same time the novel characterises the colonialists, who subject these people to torture and eradication, as “the new barbarians”’.³³ He later quotes Robert Young who highlights the ‘role of capitalism as the determining motor of colonialism, and the material violence

³⁰ Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure* [1895] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 226. Hereafter cited as *Jude*.

³¹ Walter Benjamin, quoted in Brett Neilson, ‘Barbarism/modernity: notes on barbarism’, in *Textual Practice* 13(1), 1999, p. 79. Hereafter cited as *Barbarism/modernity*.

³² *Barbarism/modernity*, p. 91.

³³ *Barbarism/modernity*, p. 91.

involved in the process of colonisation'.³⁴ This imperial violence involves 'the physical seizure of land' and this deterritorialisation by the imperial power represents the 'becoming-barbarian of civilisation'.³⁵

In the above discussion of the terms 'primitive', 'civilised' and 'barbarian', I hope to have shown that the construction of binary opposition with regard to these terms is untenable, and that Hardy's 'inconsistent' approach, which aims to demolish borders and establish 'the rights of the cloud', is more in keeping with post-structuralist thinking. Donald Davie in his discussion of Hardy as poet relates this inconsistency to Hardy's acceptance of the world as it is, rather than desiring to supplant the reality of life with an alternative or superior reality. Davie points to radical poets like Pound and Eliot, who, unlike Hardy, wished 'to give us entry through their poems into a world that is truer and more real than the world we know from statistics or scientific induction or common sense'.³⁶ Hardy's rational relativism, as discussed earlier in this chapter, means that he can be sympathetic towards technology whilst at the same time being aware of the human cost involved. Davie equates this with the attitude of the true liberal in politics who addresses each question 'on its merits' rather than from an ideological position.³⁷ The following passage from Hardy's Preface or 'Apology' to *Late Lyrics and Earlier* perhaps summarises this 'liberal' attitude and supports Davie's description of Hardy as a 'scientific humanist':

...that whether the human and kindred animal races survive till the exhaustion or destruction of the globe, or whether these races perish and are succeeded by others before that conclusion comes, pain to all upon it, tongued or dumb, shall be kept down to a minimum by loving-kindness, operating through

³⁴ Robert Young, 'Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race (London: Routledge, 1995), p.167, in *Barbarism/modernity*, p. 91.

³⁵ Andrew Hewitt, 'Fascist Modernism: Aesthetics, Politics and the Avant-Garde (Stanford CT: Stanford University Press, 1993), p.95, in *Barbarism/modernity*, p. 89.

³⁶ *With the Grain*, p. 68.

³⁷ *With the Grain*, p. 52.

scientific knowledge, and actuated by the modicum of free will conjecturally possessed by organic life.³⁸

Hardy's ability to take a long view of history in terms of both time and space is remarked on by W.H.Auden, writing in 1940:

What I valued most in Hardy, then, as I still do, was his hawk's vision, his way of looking at life from a very great height, as in the stage directions of *The Dynasts*, or the opening chapter of *The Return of the Native*. To see the individual life related not only to the local social life of its time, but to the whole of human history, life on the earth, the stars, gives one both humility and self-confidence.³⁹

When the earth is viewed from a great height, as happens so often in Hardy's writings, then individual lives and the societies in which they live become relatively insignificant in relation to the earth as a whole. With this added perspective comes the realisation that no one society has the right to moral certitude, and that all societies grow and decay over time. In a letter to Arnold Bennett, referred to previously (p. 30), Hardy says, 'better let Western "Civilisation" perish, and the black or yellow races have a chance' (*CL*, V, 278). These words could not have been written by someone who had a Hegelian view of history or who supported the imperial project of spreading western values to the world. Hardy's moral relativism is in marked contrast to the moral certitude which formed the basis of this imperial project.

In the next section of this chapter I shall examine the relationship between the 'primitive' and the 'civilised' in some of Hardy's novels, with particular emphasis on *The Return of the Native* and *The Woodlanders*.

³⁸ Thomas Hardy, 'Apology: Late Lyrics and Earlier' in James Gibson, ed., *The Complete Poems* (Macmillan London Ltd., 1976), p. 558.

³⁹ W.H.Auden, 'A Literary Transference' in 'The Southern Review,' 6:1 (Summer 1940) p. 83, in *With the Grain*, p. 117.

The Return of the Native

He was in a nest of vivid green [...] the air was warm with a vaporous warmth, and the stillness was unbroken. Lizards, grass-hoppers, and ants were the only living things to be beheld. The scene seemed to belong to the ancient world of the carboniferous period, when the forms of plants were few, and of the fern kind.⁴⁰

In a letter to his publisher, John Blackwood, in 1877, Hardy describes his new novel, *The Return of the Native*, as a story which ‘deals with a world almost isolated from civilisation’ (CL, I, 49). In the first chapter of the book which deals exclusively with Egdon Heath and its characteristics, Hardy states emphatically that ‘civilisation was its enemy’ (p. 5). The use of isolated geographical areas such as heath and woodland as a means of exploring the relationship between ‘primitive’ communities and outsiders from beyond their boundaries, is a device used by Hardy on several occasions. These places are different and unchanging, seemingly unaffected by the passage of time. In his preface to *The Well-Beloved* Hardy describes his Isle of Slingers as being ‘for centuries immemorial the home of a curious and well-nigh distinct people, cherishing strange beliefs and singular customs, now for the most part obsolescent’.⁴¹ Simon Gatrell notes, in his introduction to *The Return of the Native*, that the heath ‘is like an island of heather in a sea of agricultural land, and its inhabitants seem as distinctly cut off from other society as the inhabitants of an off-shore island would be’.⁴²

In *The Woodlanders* the village of Little Hintock is approached by a road on which ‘the leaves lie so thick in autumn as to completely bury the track,’ and Mrs Dollery, the van driver, describes the village to Barber Percomb as ‘such a small place that, as a town gentleman, you’d need have a candle-and-lantern to find it if ye

⁴⁰ Thomas Hardy, *The Return of the Native* [1878] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 205-6. Further reference will be made by page number in parenthesis.

⁴¹ Thomas Hardy, *The Well-Beloved* [1897] (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 2000), p. 3.

⁴² Simon Gatrell, ‘Introduction’ in Thomas Hardy, *The Return of the Native* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. xvi.

don't know where 'tis'.⁴³ The journey down this forlorn and isolated track to the ancient woodland bears some comparison to Conrad's description of Marlow's journey by river to find Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness*: 'Going up that river was like travelling back to the earliest beginnings of the world, when vegetation rioted on the earth and the big trees were kings.'⁴⁴ Hardy's heath and woodland, isolated and unchanging, populated by 'primitive' communities, may be compared with the distant countries being colonised by the British while Hardy was writing his novels. The validity of this comparison is reinforced when Hardy's description of 'the vast tract of unenclosed wild known as Egdon Heath' (p. 3), is contrasted with Conrad's description of the deep heart of Africa in *Heart of Darkness*. There is evidence that Conrad had read *The Return of the Native* and other Hardy novels, and so the possibility exists that he was influenced by some of Hardy's descriptions of landscape. In 1907 he writes to a friend, praising his newly published novel and says 'What a "Return of the Native" you have given us!'.⁴⁵ The following year, in a letter to John Galsworthy, he bemoans the lack of success of his novel *The Secret Agent* and comments, 'the novels of Hardy, for instance, are generally tragic enough and gloomily written too – and yet they have sold.'⁴⁶

In contemplating the antiquity of Egdon Heath, Hardy reflects on the fact that 'everything around and underneath had been from prehistoric times as unaltered as the stars overhead' (p. 6), while Conrad in describing the vast African forest says, 'we were wanderers on prehistoric earth, on an earth that wore the aspect of an

⁴³ Thomas Hardy, *The Woodlanders* [1887] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 5-6. Further reference will be made by page number in parenthesis.

⁴⁴ Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darknes*, [1902] (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1973), p.48. Further reference will be made by page number in parenthesis.

⁴⁵ Joseph Conrad, letter to R.B. Cunninghame Graham, 14 Jan. 1907, in Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies, eds., *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, Vol.3, 1903-1907 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 405-6. Hereafter cited as *Conrad: Collected Letters*.

⁴⁶ Joseph Conrad, letter to John Galsworthy, 6 Jan. 1908, in *Conrad: Collected Letters*, Vol.4, 1908-1911, p. 9.

unknown planet' (p. 51). Hardy's Egdon Heath was the 'original of those wild regions of obscurity which are vaguely felt to be compassing us about in midnight dreams of flight and disaster' (p. 5), while in Africa, Conrad's Marlow says 'there were moments when one's past came back to one [...] but it came in the shape of an unrestful and noisy dream, remembered with wonder amongst the overwhelming realities of this strange world of plants, and water, and silence' (p. 48). Both English heath and African forest seem to share a strange indifference to time; 'the heath wore the appearance of an instalment of night which had taken up its place before its astronomical hour was come: darkness had to a great extent arrived hereon while day stood distinct in the sky' (p. 3). Similarly in the African forest 'the dusk came gliding into it long before the sun had set' (p. 56). Both heath and forest seem to be endowed with human characteristics: 'The place became full of a watchful intentness now. When other things sank brooding to sleep the heath appeared slowly to awake and listen' (p. 4), and in the forest 'this stillness of life did not in the least resemble a peace. It was the stillness of an implacable force brooding over an inscrutable intention' (p. 48). Finally, both Hardy and Conrad remind the reader that the place they are describing is a remnant of a past age, relatively untouched by succeeding generations. Hardy notes that 'this obscure, obsolete, superseded country figures in Domesday' (p. 5), and Conrad says 'we were travelling in the night of first ages, of those ages that are gone, leaving hardly a sign – and no memories' (p. 51).

Although Hardy had written that the world of the heath was 'isolated from civilisation' this does not mean, as discussed earlier in this chapter, that he considered its inhabitants to be primitive in the sense of being at a more basic or undeveloped stage of evolutionary development. He did in fact, as already noted, equate primitivism with paganism and the sympathetic characteristic of

instinctiveness as opposed to the artificiality of much 'civilised' behaviour. In describing Tess he comments that:

women whose chief companions are the forms and forces of outdoor Nature retain in their souls far more of the Pagan fantasy of their remote forefathers than of the systematized religion taught their race at later date.⁴⁷

In an article written in 1959 John Paterson describes *The Return of the Native* as an 'Antichristian Document', and identifies references made to Christianity in the original manuscript which were deleted in subsequent versions. Commenting on the villagers taking part in the dance at East Egdon, Hardy says, 'for the time Paganism was revived in their hearts, the pride of life was all in all, and they adored none other than themselves' (p. 262). In the original hand written manuscript this sentence reads: 'Christianity was eclipsed in their hearts, Paganism was revived, the pride of life was all in all, they adored themselves and their own natural instincts.'⁴⁸ Here there is a positive rejection of Christianity rather than simply a revival of Paganism; pride and joy in one's own humanity replaces an imposed anti-pagan doctrine. A similar alteration to the original manuscript, noted by Paterson, occurs towards the end of the novel during the description of the Maypole-day festivities. In the original manuscript Hardy says, 'Indeed, the impulses of all such outlandish hamlets are pagan still: in these spots homage to nature, self-adoration, frantic gaieties [...] have in some way or other survived mediaeval Christianity,' whereas in later versions the words 'mediaeval Christianity' are replaced by the less contentious 'mediaeval doctrine' (p. 390). These changes from the original manuscript are noted by Simon Gatrell in the 1990 edition of *The Return of the Native*, and it appears that they were made before the novel's serialisation in *Belgravia* magazine in 1878 and certainly

⁴⁷ Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* [1891] (London: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 158.

⁴⁸ John Paterson, 'The Return of the Native as Antichristian Document,' in 'Nineteenth-Century Fiction' 14.2 (1959): 11-27, in Thomas Hardy *The Return of the Native* (New York: W.W.Norton and Company, Inc., 2006), p. 440. Hereafter cited as Paterson.

before the publication of the first edition later in the same year. Gatrell notes that several uses of the word 'God' by characters in the novel, which are present in the manuscript, have been replaced by 'Heaven' in the serial edition and in all subsequent texts. Gatrell suggests that these changes were made because 'the editor of *Belgravia* would not permit taking of the Lord's name in vain'.⁴⁹ If this was the case then it seems likely that the two references to Christianity noted above were also removed at the request of the magazine's editor rather than by Hardy himself. The probability of this censorship is supported by Paterson when he says:

As the revisions would testify...the virulent censorship current in 1878 more generally had the effect of driving underground what evidently threatened to materialize as an open denigration of Christianity. It compelled Hardy to suppress the repudiation of the Christian implicit in the novel's celebration of the pagan. The revisions draw attention, then, to a subversive content no longer visible to the naked eye.⁵⁰

I discussed in Chapter 2 how the spread of Christianity to 'pagan' peoples was an integral part of the British Imperial project and used to some extent to justify territorial and economic exploitation. Aimé Césaire in his *Discourse on Colonialism* argues that colonisation was certainly not 'a project undertaken for the greater glory of God' but for the benefit of 'the gold digger and the merchant,' and that the 'chief culprit' in this hypocrisy was 'Christian pedantry, which laid down the dishonest equations *Christianity = civilisation, paganism = savagery*'.⁵¹ In celebrating the inherent pagan nature of his characters and their rejection of formal Christianity, Hardy is demonstrating that he does not accept these 'dishonest equations', and it is not only the natives of isolated rural areas who are linked with paganism in his novels. In *Jude the Obscure* Sue buys two statuettes of ancient, pagan divinities

⁴⁹ Simon Gatrell 'Notes of Significant Revisions to the Text' in Thomas Hardy *The Return of the Native* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 461.

⁵⁰ Paterson, p. 440.

⁵¹ Aimé Césaire, 'Discourse on Colonialism,' in 'Monthly Review Press': New York, 1972, pp. 9-25, in Williams and Chrisman, eds., *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1994), p. 173.

which are found and smashed to pieces by her devoutly Christian landlady. Later, in her denunciation of Christianity, Sue uses lines from Swinburne's poem 'Hymn to Proserpine':

O ghastly glories of saints, dead limbs of gibbeted Gods!
Though all men abase them before you in spirit, and all knees bend,
I kneel not neither adore you, but, standing, look to the end.⁵²

Lennart Bjork notes that the last line represents the Pagan idea of the acceptance of death without God, and although all three lines appeared in the manuscript edition of *Jude*, it is significant that only the first line was later kept.

In *The Return of the Native* Eustacia Vye is described as having 'Pagan eyes' and resembling the ancient, female deities 'Artemis, Athena or Hera' (p. 64). In the original manuscript Hardy adds that, 'her chief priest was Byron: her antichrist a well-meaning preacher at Budmouth of the name of Slatters'.⁵³ The depiction of Eustacia as a Pagan figure with links to ancient Greek deities forms an interesting parallel with Conrad's depiction of the mysterious woman who appears on the shore at the Inner Station in *Heart of Darkness*. This 'wild-eyed and magnificent' African woman:

walked with measured steps [...], treading the earth proudly, with a slight jingle and flash of barbarous ornaments. She carried her head high; her hair was done in the shape of a helmet (p. 87).

Hardy associates Eustacia with 'tropical midnights' and 'lotus-eaters' and imagines her standing on the barrow with 'the new moon behind her head' and 'an old helmet upon it' giving her the appearance of an ancient Greek goddess (p. 64). The goddess Athena, with whom Eustacia has been compared, is usually represented with a helmet on her head and holding a spear and a shield. Both women, one in the English

⁵² Swinburne, 'Hymn to Proserpine' in Thomas Hardy, MS of 'Jude the Obscure', f.154, in Lennart A. Bjork, ed., *The Literary Notebooks of Thomas Hardy*, Vol.1 (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd.1985), p. 297.

⁵³ Paterson, p. 440.

heathland and the other in the African forest are thus depicted as proud and mysterious pagan goddesses. These Greek goddesses, however, are traditionally endowed with the masculine attributes of strength and power, attributes which neither Eustacia nor the African woman possess. This paradox is highlighted by Rosemarie Morgan when she says:

...of course, the world is not Olympus: it is not polytheistic or filled with joyous Hellenism, let alone sexually emancipated men and women. According to Hellenic mythological tradition, the balance of power between the sexes is equally distributed: the strong, the powerful, the brave and heroic count among their numbers as many females as males.⁵⁴

Morgan notes that although Hardy represents Eustacia as an Olympian, he does not attempt to reconcile her with the everyday world of the heath, and that a central theme of the novel is 'the opposition of the inner Victorian world of the novel and the Hellenic spirit embodied by both Eustacia and the Egdon paradigm'.⁵⁵

Despite their proud and mysterious natures there is something about both women which is troubled and disturbed, something which seems to arise from influences which have impinged on their isolated and self-contained surroundings. In

Heart of Darkness, Conrad says of the African woman:

Her face had a tragic and fierce aspect of wild sorrow and of dumb pain mingled with the fear of some struggling, half-shaped resolve. She stood looking at us without a stir, and like the wilderness itself, with an air of brooding over an inscrutable purpose (p. 87).

Similarly, in describing Eustacia, Hardy says:

Her power was limited, and the consciousness of this limitation had biased her development. Egdon was her Hades, and since coming there she had imbibed much of what was dark in its tone, though inwardly and eternally unreconciled thereto. Her appearance accorded well with this smouldering rebelliousness, and the shady splendour of her beauty was the real surface of the sad and stifled warmth within her' (p. 64).

⁵⁴ Rosemarie Morgan, 'Conflicting Courses in *The Return of the Native*', in Thomas Hardy, *The Return of the Native*, ed. Phillip Mallett (New York: W.W.Norton and Company, 2006), p. 481. Hereafter cited as Morgan.

⁵⁵ Morgan, p. 481.

Both women are inextricably linked to their own environment. As the African woman walks slowly along the shore:

...the immense wilderness, the colossal body of the fecund and mysterious life seemed to look at her, pensive, as though it had been looking at the image of its own tenebrous and passionate soul (p. 87).

Similarly when Eustacia stands motionless on the barrow:

The vale, the upland, the barrow, and the figure above it, all of these amounted to unity [...] The form was so much like an organic part of the entire motionless structure that to see it move would have impressed the mind as a strange phenomenon (p. 11-12).

As the women move away from view the sense of mystery is maintained. The African woman:

...turned away slowly, walked on, following the bank, and passed into the bushes to the left. Once only her eyes gleamed back at us in the dusk of the thickets before she disappeared (p. 88).

On Egdon Heath:

The figure perceptibly gave up its fixity, shifted a step or two, and turned round. As if alarmed it descended on the right side of the barrow, with the glide of a water-drop down a bud, and then vanished (p. 12).

Rosemarie Morgan's description of Eustacia could almost as well apply to the African woman, 'repressed by a killing monotonous existence to which she responds almost gravitationally (walking the earth by night and day), weighed down from first to last by the heavy forces of oppression, and always watching and waiting.'⁵⁶

Gabrielle McIntire writes that the body of the African woman 'mirrors the body of Africa and its dark wilderness that the colonists are plundering as they scramble for their hoards of ivory, for Marlow anthropomorphizes the wilderness at the expense of the woman by figuring her as co-extensive with place'.⁵⁷ Eustacia is

⁵⁶ Morgan, p. 475.

⁵⁷ Gabrielle McIntire, 'The Women Do Not Travel: Gender, Difference, and Incommensurability in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*' in *Modern Fiction Studies* 48.2 (2002), 257-284, p. 2.

similarly portrayed as being an extension of the landscape she inhabits, identifying with the ancient pagan inhabitants of the heathland.

Kurtz was sent out from Europe as a person of ‘higher intelligence, wide sympathies, a singleness of purpose’; someone who was ‘an emissary of pity, and science, and progress’ (p. 36). This description by those of the Company who had known Kurtz on his arrival in Africa, has some similarities to the description of Clym Yeobright given by the native inhabitants of Egdon Heath who had known him as a child and youth before he left for Europe, and spoke of him as an ‘artist and scholar’ (p. 170). Kurtz had undertaken to write a report for the International Society for the Suppression of Savage Customs, a report which, as revealed by Marlow, was full of colonialist ideas of Western superiority and the necessity of imposing ‘civilised’ modes of behaviour on the native inhabitants. At the end of this report Kurtz had later added a scribbled note “Exterminate all the brutes!”, indicating that instead of bringing a supposedly ‘civilising influence’ he had actually become brutalised, a brutalism engendered by greed and a desire for power, or as Marlow puts it ‘Mr Kurtz lacked restraint in the gratification of his various lusts’ (p. 83). In discussing *Heart of Darkness* Patrick Brantlinger writes:

Africa grew dark as Victorian explorers, missionaries, and scientists flooded it with light, because the light was refracted through an imperialist ideology that urged the abolition of “savage customs” in the name of civilisation.⁵⁸

Like Kurtz when he first arrives in Africa, Clym Yeobright is obsessed with the idea of bringing a ‘civilising influence’ to the people of the heath, but in Clym’s case this is to be an educational influence. However, Clym, like the coloniser, seems intent on imposing his view of the world on the inhabitants of the heath and has not

⁵⁸ Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 173.

considered the fact that economic and social development must occur before new ideas can arise. As Hardy points out:

In passing from the bucolic to the intellectual life the intermediate stages are usually two at least, frequently many more [...] We can hardly imagine bucolic placidity quickening to intellectual aims without imagining social aims as the transitional phase (p. 174).

For Paterson, Clym is the agent of Christianity, and Mrs Yeobright ‘very correctly understands him as a missionary in disguise’,⁵⁹ admitting that ‘it is right that there should be schoolmasters and missionaries, and all such men’ (p. 180). However, if this is indeed an anti-Christian novel it is strange that Hardy would have chosen for his hero a representative of Christianity. More than any other character Clym is associated with the heath; ‘He was permeated with its scenes, with its substance, and with its odours. He might be said to be its product’ (p. 175). He actually rejoices in the fact that the heath rejects attempts at modernisation:

...when he looked from the heights on his way, he could not help indulging in a barbarous satisfaction at observing that in some of the attempts at reclamation from the waste, tillage, after holding on for a year or two, had receded again in despair, the ferns and furze-tufts stubbornly reasserting themselves (p. 176).

Clym seeks to do good for his fellow man but is more in tune with the scientific humanism he would have encountered in Paris than with Christianity. At the end of the novel he takes up the life of ‘an itinerant preacher of the eleventh commandment’ (p. 399), Jesus’s commandment to his disciples that they should love one another, a commandment in sympathy with the importance Hardy attached to ‘loving-kindness’. Clym stated ‘that his discourses to people were to be sometimes secular, and sometimes religious, but never dogmatic; and that his texts would be taken from all kinds of books’ (p.412). There is no evidence for Paterson’s claim that Clym is a ‘figure of Christian piety’ and that *The Return of the Native* represents ‘the defeat of

⁵⁹ Paterson, p. 444.

pagan consciousness and the triumph of Christian conscience'.⁶⁰ In fact we are told at the end of the novel that Clym 'left alone set creeds and systems of philosophy, finding enough and more than enough to occupy his tongue in the opinions and actions common to all good men' (p. 412). This accords well with Hardy's thoughts on evolutionary meliorism set out in his *Apology: Late Lyrics and Earlier* and with Donald Davie's description of him as 'scientific humanist'. The death of Eustacia Vye, the witch and Greek heroine, as Paterson describes her, does not represent the defeat of Paganism, for Eustacia is not a true native of the heath and in fact despises it: 'To dwell on a heath without studying its meanings was like wedding a foreigner without learning his tongue. The subtle beauties of the heath were lost to Eustacia; she only caught its vapours' (p. 68). The true natives of the heath indulge in pagan festivals which have 'survived mediaeval Christianity', and Clym in no way condemns such festivities. He walks across the heath accompanied in his imagination by 'forgotten Celtic tribes' (p. 387), and when cutting furze he actually becomes as one with the ancient heath as 'huge flies [...] quite in a savage state, buzzed about him without knowing that he was a man' (p. 254). In the words of W.H.Auden, quoted earlier in this chapter, Hardy like his character had the ability 'to see the individual life related not only to the local social life of its time, but to the whole of human history'.⁶¹ Clym's desire to educate the inhabitants of the heath may have been a bit misguided, but unlike the colonialists he did not attempt to impose new systems of belief upon them.

One practice often mistakenly associated with paganism and with which Clym Yeobright clearly has no sympathy, is that of witchcraft and magic rituals. In the original manuscript version of the novel Eustacia is called Avise Vye and Paterson

⁶⁰ Paterson, p. 446.

⁶¹ W.H.Auden, 'A Literary Transference' in *The Southern Review*, 6:1 (Summer 1940), p. 83, in *With the Grain*, p. 117.

considers that Avice is presented more as a witch than as a pagan goddess, claiming that ‘in the opinion of the peasant chorus, “Avice Vye was a *witch*”’.⁶² Simon Gatrell, however, sees no real evidence for this and points out that it is only Susan Nunsuch and perhaps Christian Cantle who regard Avice/Eustacia as a witch. In a conversation between Susan and Timothy Fairway, who is the main spokesman for the local workfolk, Fairway denies any knowledge of rumours that Avice is a witch. Gatrell suggests that it is Susan Nunsuch’s personal interest and participation in witchcraft that makes her ‘obsessed by an idea that was not shared by most people on Egdon’.⁶³ Susan believes that Eustacia has been bewitching her son, and in the belief that it will destroy her powers pricks Eustacia’s arm with a needle while sitting behind her in church. Susan’s insistence that this deed should be committed in church points to an interesting link between the common animistic origin of magic and religion, or in the words of Freud ‘animism itself is not yet a religion but contains the foundations on which religions are later built’.⁶⁴ Clym and his mother are horrified by this deed, and Clym tells Eustacia, ‘this romantic martyr to superstition’: ‘I blush for my native Egdon’ (p. 186). Susan later makes a wax effigy of Eustacia and viciously sticks pins in it before melting it in the fire, this being ‘one of the most widespread magical procedures for injuring an enemy’.⁶⁵ There is obviously little connection between pagan joyousness and the type of magic which ‘protects the individual from his enemies and from dangers’ and ‘gives him power to

⁶² John Paterson, ‘The Making of *The Return of the Native*’ (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), p. 18.

⁶³ Simon Gatrell, ‘The Textual History of *The Return of the Native*’, in Thomas Hardy, *The Return of the Native* (New York: W.W.Norton and Company, 2006), p. 351.

⁶⁴ Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, trans. James Strachey (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul plc, 1960), p. 77. Hereafter cited as *Totem and Taboo*.

⁶⁵ *Totem and Taboo*, p. 79.

injure his enemies'.⁶⁶ The connection between paganism and witchcraft has developed in more recent times, mainly in so-called 'civilised' societies.

William Olsen, in his paper on witchcraft in West Africa, argues that witchcraft and 'witch-finding' increased considerably as a result of colonialism and the expanding global economy, as it gave powerless people power to deal with their misfortunes:

Witch-finding in Asante should be viewed historically as an attempt by ordinary persons to deal with unanticipated misfortunes; but more than this, the wide complex of cults which arose in the early 20th century address the economic inequities in social relations which were often viewed as the result of witchcraft activities and power [...] it was commonly assumed that the rich person had connections to the occult.⁶⁷

Susan Nunsuch obviously hopes to deal with her misfortunes by casting spells, but this is more connected to primitive superstitious belief found in all communities rather than in those considered to be 'primitive'.

The fact that Eustacia is referred to as a witch by some of the characters in the novel results from her non-conformity and separateness rather than from any evidence of the possession of supernatural powers: as Mrs Yeobright says, 'good girls don't get treated as witches even on Egdon' (p. 180). Gayla Steel in her article on Hardy's witches and demons, notes that women were often labelled as witches if they did not conform to the stereotypical Victorian "Angel in the House" image of womanhood. An interesting parallel may be drawn with Gwendolen Harleth in George Eliot's novel *Daniel Deronda* [1876]. One onlooker observes 'A striking girl - that Miss Harleth – unlike others',⁶⁸ and on several occasions she is referred to by

⁶⁶ *Totem and Taboo*, p. 79.

⁶⁷ William C. Olsen, "Children for Death": Money, Wealth, and Witchcraft Suspicion in Colonial Asante, in *Cahiers d'Etudes africaines*, 167, XLII-3, 2002, 522-524.

⁶⁸ George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda* (Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 2003), p. 7. Hereafter cited as *Daniel Deronda*.

the narrator as a witch: 'it was no wonder a boy should be fascinated by this young witch',⁶⁹ and 'was ever any young witch like this'.⁷⁰

Gayla Steel proposes that 'Hardy dares to examine his era's attitudes toward female independence and sexuality [...] but does so by cloaking the subjects in folkloric images and euphemisms in order to present his evidence',⁷¹ the most obvious image being that of the witch.

The Woodlanders

Hardy's portrayal of Little Hintock is that of a fragile vestige of the past continually buffeted by the values of contemporary society; with each blow, the community is weakened and the ideals that have served to bestow identity upon the folk are called into question.⁷²

The inhabitants of Little Hintock in *The Woodlanders*, like those of Egdon Heath, live a life which is still influenced by pagan rituals, and into this life comes the cultivated and supposedly civilised doctor, Edred Fitzpiers. The first discussion of Fitzpiers in the novel occurs between Grammer Oliver and Grace Melbury soon after Grace's return to Little Hintock. Grammer confides in Grace that Fitzpiers has offered her ten pounds to have her head for dissection after her death: 'he talks of buying me [...] not my soul – my body, when I'm dead.' He has observed that she has a very large brain, telling her 'a woman's is usually four ounces less than a man's, but yours is man's size' (p. 50). Fitzpiers is obviously an observer and classifier of people, and indeed when he first appears in the novel he is seen by Winterborne spying on Grace Melbury through an eyeglass. The windows of his

⁶⁹ *Daniel Deronda*, p. 62.

⁷⁰ *Daniel Deronda*, p. 77.

⁷¹ Gayla R. Steel, *Sexual Tyranny in Wessex: Hardy's Witches and Demons in Folklore* (New York: Peter Long, 1993), p. 2.

⁷² Shirley A. Stave, *The Decline of the Goddess: Nature, Culture and Women in Thomas Hardy's Fiction* [1995], quoted in *Survivals of Time*, p. 139.

house overlook a footpath which is used frequently by the inhabitants of 'the rural district he had marked out as his field of survey' (p. 122), affording him further opportunities for studying differences in their behaviour. Fitzpiers's occupation and his interest in the local people might indicate a mixture of scientist and anthropologist in his make-up, a mixture commonly found in those serving the British Empire in the colonies. Edward Said says that 'Kipling was one of the first novelists to portray this logical alliance between Western science and political power at work in the colonies',⁷³ and the obvious example of this is found in the character of Colonel Creighton in Kipling's novel *Kim*. In Said's words, Creighton, the administrator and anthropologist, represents the 'union of power and knowledge' a union which was necessary for efficient government in India. In *The Woodlanders*, Fitzpiers also wields power and has 'advanced ideas and practices which had nothing in common with the life around' (p. 51). Although, through Grace's intervention, he fails to obtain the promise of Grammer Oliver's brain, he does obtain old John South's brain after his death and shows Grace a fragment of it which he has been examining under the microscope. Fitzpiers's use of optical instruments, through which he can surreptitiously observe and classify people, either alive or dead, demonstrates further this union of power and knowledge. Observation through an intervening medium also highlights his detachment from the reality of the lives of the local people. Isobel Armstrong in her essay on the use of the microscope in the nineteenth century, makes the point that 'the monologic discourse of technologies of the observer accepts the complete untethering of seeing from the object [...] Thus it accepts the unmediated power [...] and leaves out of account the uncomfortable

⁷³ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p. 184.

interventions of mediation'.⁷⁴ When Grace looks through the microscope she is filled with wonder as to how the specimen she sees can be connected to the old man she knew. It is very likely that this incident would confirm Grace's initial view of Fitzpiers as 'a remorseless Jehovah of the sciences, who would not have mercy, and would have sacrifice' (p. 122), and who later she would see as someone 'cleverer, greater than herself' who 'seemed to be her ruler rather than her equal, protector, and dear familiar friend' (p. 165).

Fitzpiers considers all the local inhabitants to be beneath him and exerts a power over them which is demonstrated to particular effect in the incident of old John South and the elm tree outside his window. 'The doctor says the tree ought to be cut down' (p. 100), Marty tells Giles, even though permission has not been obtained from the owner of the land, Mrs Charmond. Giles argues that the correct procedure should be followed, but Fitzpiers overrides them all saying: 'Then we'll inaugurate a new era forthwith' (p. 102). Fitzpiers thinks that he is doing the right thing but as Andrew Radford observes 'the remedial effects of his "advanced" modern science, whose principles fail adequately to account for the ways and agencies of primitive irrationality, hasten the patient's death'.⁷⁵ Although the old man is terrified that the tree will blow down and kill him, Fitzpiers does not understand the extent to which his life is inextricably bound up with the life of the tree. As Marty South explains, her father perceives the elm tree as 'an evil spirit. He says that it is exactly his own age, that it has got human sense, and sprouted up when he was born on purpose to rule him, and keep him as its slave' (p. 102). This is reminiscent of Clodd's 'barbaric idea which confuses persons and things' discussed

⁷⁴ Isobel Armstrong, 'The microscope: mediations of the sub-visible world' in Roger Luckhurst and Josephine McDonagh, eds., *Transactions and Encounters: Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 35.

⁷⁵ *Survivals of Time*, p. 147.

earlier in this chapter. Frazer in his book *Totemism*, which was published in the same year as *The Woodlanders*, says:

A totem is a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect, believing that there exists between him and every member of the class an intimate and altogether special relation.⁷⁶

Sigmund Freud writing in *Totem and Taboo*, published in 1913, agrees with Frazer, and says that:

primitive races [...] people the world with innumerable spiritual beings both benevolent and malignant; and these spirits and demons they regard as the causes of natural phenomena and they believe that not only animals and plants but all the inanimate objects in the world are animated by them.⁷⁷

John South's elm tree is certainly acting as a totem according to Frazer's definition, but his use of the word 'savage' is somewhat unfortunate if Hardy's comment regarding the confusion of persons and things being a characteristic of 'the highest imaginative genius – that of the poet', is considered. Throughout *The Woodlanders*, as previously noted, Hardy emphasises how both trees and humans are connected together by a common life force, or in Frazer's words 'an intimate and special relation':

On older trees still than these huge lobes of fungi grew like lungs. Here as everywhere, the Unfulfilled Intention, which makes life what it is, was as obvious as it could be among the depraved crowds of a city slum. The leaf was deformed, the curve was crippled, the taper was interrupted; the lichen ate the vigour of the stalk, and the ivy slowly strangled to death the promising sapling (p.53).

This close relationship between tree and human is described in several of Hardy's poems such as 'The Felled Elm and She,' which ends with the words:

Matching her, both unaware
That your lives formed such a pair (CP, 868).

In *The Woodlanders* the lives of John South and the elm tree also form 'such a pair,' so much so, that like the woman and the tree in the poem, the death of one is

⁷⁶ James George Frazer, 'Totemism and Exogamy', I, 3, in *Survivals of Time*, p. 146.

⁷⁷ *Totem and Taboo*, p. 76.

followed by the death of the other. In *The Golden Bough* Frazer cites various examples of this belief, one being that ‘the Basoga of Central Africa think that, when a tree is cut down, the angry spirit which inhabits it may cause the death of the chief and his family’.⁷⁸ Belief in tree spirits was, according to Frazer, also common in modern Europe, and it was obviously John South’s fear of such a spirit which contributed to his death.

Fitzpiers, like Colonel Creighton in India, has come to Little Hintock to ‘inaugurate a new era,’ an era of ‘advanced ideas and practices’ which involves observing and classifying the local inhabitants but has no interest in local folk-lore or customs which have existed for hundreds of years. Another local custom in which Fitzpiers becomes involved is the Midsummer Eve pagan ritual of sowing hemp seed, carried out by young unmarried girls in the belief that it ‘would afford them a glimpse of their future partners for life’ (p. 143). Grace Melbury, wearing a light dress, runs down the hill with the other girls, unaware of the presence of Fitzpiers on the path and ‘stretching out his arms as the white figure burst upon him he captured her in a moment, as if she had been a bird’ (p. 147). Andrew Radford comments on the significance of the word ‘captured’ in this context in its suggestion of the primitive idea of marriage by capture, that is ‘the carrying off of the woman, in defiance of her kindred and of their efforts to protect her’.⁷⁹ Hardy, in fact, wrote to his friend Edward Clodd in 1895 that ‘the modern views of marriage are a survival from the custom of capture and purchase, propped up by theological superstition’ (*CL*, II, 92). Winterborne, who was close by during this incident, fails to prevent Grace’s capture by Fitzpiers, who demonstrates again his power over the local people. When Grace escapes from his embrace he quickly transfers his attentions to

⁷⁸ *Golden Bough*, p. 113.

⁷⁹ *Survivals of Time*, p. 137.

Suke Damson. In the words of Andrew Radford, 'he is neither integrated with nor constrained by the woodland world, and he effortlessly violates its pagan survivals and its women. The Hintocks are there for him merely to act out his need for immediate self-gratification and sexual mastery'.⁸⁰

Hardy's use of the word 'capture' and the comments he made to Clodd might suggest an analogy with colonial slavery, for it is Fitzpiers the outsider and intruder into this community who is successful in capturing Grace, rather than Giles Winterborne her kinsman and native of the woodland. The analogy between sexual and imperial domination has been touched on in Chapter one, and will be discussed further in the next chapter. In discussing Jane Austen's novel *Mansfield Park*, Benita Parry notes 'the affinities between patriarchal domination of women in the homeland and plantocratic power over slaves'.⁸¹ There is a considerable divergence of opinion amongst critics as to the validity of this analogy, but it cannot be denied that the patriarchal power structure present in England in the nineteenth century was replicated in the Empire, just as 'the relationship between the landed gentry and the rural poor paralleled that between the coloniser and the colonised'.

Fitzpiers is not the only character in *The Woodlanders* whose relationship with the local inhabitants may be compared with that of master and slave. Mrs Charmond, the local estate owner has a collection of man-traps: 'My husband was a connoisseur in man-traps and spring-guns and such articles [...] he knew the histories of all these – which gin had broken a man's leg, which gun had killed a man' (p. 60). Grace's reply 'they are interesting, no doubt as relics of a barbarous time happily past' (p. 60) is of particular significance in the light of her 'capture' by such a trap towards the end of the novel when she is about to be recaptured by Fitzpiers.

⁸⁰ *Survivals of Time*, p. 138.

⁸¹ Benita Parry, *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 109.

Mrs Charmond is aware of the power which she can wield over the woodland people and uses it to disastrous effect in the case of her refusal to renew the life-hold on Winterborne's house. However, it is in the purchase of Marty South's hair that the true extent of her power is revealed. Mr Percomb, the wig-maker, tells Marty that Mrs Charmond had noticed her hair whilst sitting behind her in church and has 'decided to get it'. He warns Marty that she had better let her have it as 'Twill be bad for you if you don't' (p. 13). He reminds her that she is living in one of the 'lady's cottages' and could be turned out if she refuses to give in to this request. Since the Old Testament story of Samson, whose strength was lost when his long hair was cut by Delilah, hair has come to be considered as a symbol of strength and power, adding particular significance to the transfer of hair from Marty to Mrs Charmond.

Andrew Radford believes that in this incident Marty South is "shorn" as if in a sacrificial rite' and that this 'embodies the destiny of a countryside, an underclass and a gender; as well as anticipating Frazer's account of the belief [...] that human hair was inextricably bound up with physical and sexual potency'.⁸²

Both Fitzpiers and Mrs Charmond exert power over the local community without understanding the deep-seated customs and way of life of the inhabitants which has remained relatively unchanged for hundreds of years. Gayatri Spivak refers to this as 'subjugated knowledge' and quotes Foucault's interpretation of this as 'a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naive knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity'.⁸³ Foucault uses the term 'genealogies' to denote these naive or popular knowledges; local, regional knowledge which has been subjugated and excluded from official historical

⁸² *Survivals of Time*, p. 153.

⁸³ Michel Foucault, 'Power/Knowledge' (New York: Random House Inc., 1980), p. 82.

accounts. In *The Woodlanders* Giles Winterborne is a possessor of such knowledge.

When he plants the young fir trees:

Winterborne's fingers were endowed with a gentle conjuror's touch in spreading the roots of each little tree, resulting in a sort of caress, under which the delicate fibres all laid themselves out in the proper direction for growth. He put most of these roots towards the south-west; for, he said, in forty years' time, when some great gale is blowing from that quarter, the trees will require the strongest holdfast on that side to stand against it and not fall (p. 65).

Giles, the intuitive, instinctive native of the woodland is gradually destroyed by the outsiders who deprive him of his house and of the woman he loves. Fitzpiers, the scientist, whose ideas 'had nothing in common with the life around', exerts power over the local people, and, as with the case of John South, disregards their traditions. Giles sacrifices his life for Grace who is eventually recaptured by Fitzpiers after literally being 'caught in a man-trap' (p. 358).

Foucault's writings on the relationship of power and knowledge and his emphasis on genealogies have been much criticised, and are often regarded as ideas that act against social and political advancement. It is true, as Margaret McLaren comments, that 'he questions the standard historical notion of progress by pointing out that some practices and institutions that were intended to increase freedom, actually increased domination'.⁸⁴ These are questions which are repeatedly posed by Hardy throughout his writings and, as has been suggested, his views are complex and frequently ambiguous. The experience of Tess with the threshing-machine at Flintcomb-Ash certainly demonstrates the extent to which the lives of agricultural workers were dominated by the new machines, introduced by absentee landlords who knew nothing of the local people. He describes the engine-man as having the appearance of someone:

⁸⁴ Margaret A. McLaren, *Feminism, Foucault, and Embodied Subjectivity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), p. 34.

who had strayed into the pellucid smokelessness of this region of yellow grain and pale soil, with which he had nothing in common, to amaze and to discompose its aborigines [...] he was in the agricultural world, but not of it [...] hardly perceiving the scenes around him, and caring for them not at all: holding only strictly necessary intercourse with the natives (p. 404-5).

This could almost be a description of Fitzpiers in the different context of the woodland. Hardy's reference to 'aborigines' is significant in the light of Adam Gussow's comparison of Tess's wanderings over the Wessex landscape with that of Australian aborigines discussed in Chapter one. As noted, Hardy had read an article observing that 'Aborigines will be but a memory in a century or two...',⁸⁵ and he was possibly contemplating the prospect that this might also be the fate of the traditional inhabitants of rural Wessex.

Wanderers and Settlers

The people we call barbarians are nomads, they migrate between the lowlands and the uplands every year, that is their way of life. Bodies clothed in wool and the hides of animals and nourished from infancy on meat and milk, foreign to the suave touch of cotton, the virtues of the placid grains and fruits: these are the people being pushed off the plains into the mountains by the spread of Empire.⁸⁶

Tess, the possessor of 'pagan instinctiveness', wandering through the landscape, illustrates another aspect of the dichotomy between primitive and civilised, that between the wanderer and the settler. Henry Mayhew, writing in 1851, maintains that:

Of the thousand millions of human beings that are said to constitute the population of the entire globe, there are, socially, morally, and perhaps even physically considered, but two distinct and broadly marked races, viz., the

⁸⁵ 'The Next Centenary of Australia', *Spectator*, LXI (28 Jan 1888) 112-13, in Lennart A. Bjork, ed., *The Literary Notebooks of Thomas Hardy* Vol.I (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1985), p. 228.

⁸⁶ J.M.Coetzee, *Waiting for the Barbarians* [1980] (London: Vintage, 2004), pp. 54, 78.

wanderers and the settlers, the vagabond and the citizen, the nomadic and the civilised tribes.⁸⁷

Mayhew even describes ‘peculiar and distinctive physical as well as moral characteristics’ associated with the different types, particularly with regard to the shape of the bones of the face and skull:

A greater development of the jaws and cheek bones [...] indicates a more ample extension of the organs subservient to sensation and the animal faculties. Such a configuration is adapted to the wandering tribes; whereas, the greater relative development of the bones of the skull indicating as it does a greater expansion of the brain, and consequently of the intellectual faculties, is especially adapted to the civilized races or settlers.⁸⁸

Gillian Beer, in her essay on *The Return of the Native* agrees that ‘in Victorian anthropology the two great categories were the “settled” and the “nomadic” tribes’, and ‘out of the “settled” came civilisation’.⁸⁹ There is no doubt that the principal way of life adopted by early man was that of hunter- gatherer; small groups of people wandering across the countryside in search of food and having no permanent abode. Gradually as these early humans learned to cultivate crops and breed domestic animals more settled communities developed, but there is no evidence that these groups differed physically from each other in the way suggested by Mayhew or by anthropologists such as James Prichard. Indeed, as Colin Tudge makes clear ‘the first anatomically modern humans [...] appeared on this Earth something over 100,000 years ago in Africa’⁹⁰ and these humans would have been anatomically

⁸⁷ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, Vol.1 (London: Griffen and Company, 1851), p. 1. Hereafter cited as Mayhew

⁸⁸ Mayhew, p. 1.

⁸⁹ Gillian Beer, ‘Can the Native Return?’, in ‘Open Fields: Science in Cultural Encounter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 31-54, in Phillip Mallett, ed., Thomas Hardy: *The Return of the Native* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 2006), p. 519. Hereafter cited as *Can the Native Return*.

⁹⁰ Colin Tudge, *Neanderthals, Bandits and Farmers: How Agriculture Really Began* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998), p. 15. Hereafter cited as Tudge.

indistinguishable from modern humans whatever their lifestyle. Tudge suggests that even extinct 'hominid' groups carried out 'farming', 'in the sense that they were manipulating the plants and animals around them in ways that increased their own efficiency as hunters and gatherers'.⁹¹ There is indeed no evolutionary progression between the two types, with groups in many countries maintaining the wandering rather than the settled way of life, either due to preference or necessity. The question therefore arises as to why Victorian writers such as Mayhew and Prichard were intent on reinforcing the distinction between wanderers and settlers and of seeing the settled tribes as being more akin to civilised societies. In the mid nineteenth century when they were writing, European explorers were starting to penetrate into the heart of Africa and also into Australia. Settled communities with their hierarchical, patriarchal structures must have seemed more familiar and less of a threat than those groups which wandered from place to place, with few material possessions and more fluid social structures. It would be in their interests to denote these tribes as being more primitive and further removed from the 'civilised' Western societies from which they came. Tudge notes that 'in Imperial vein former scholars were wont to conclude the Australian aborigines did not farm in European style because they were "backward"'.⁹² They overlooked the fact that much of the Australian landscape was unsuitable for farming and that the hunting and gathering lifestyle of the native Australians was far more productive.

In addition to his division of all races into wanderers and settlers, Mayhew maintained that 'each civilised or settled tribe has generally some wandering horde intermingled with and in a measure preying upon it', and he cites the example of the Bushmen in Southern Africa. Later he refers to these 'hordes' as 'vagabonds and

⁹¹ Tudge, p. 15.

⁹² Tudge, p. 47.

outcasts' who are not willing to submit to social laws and duties. Tess of course has broken the social laws of her particular tribe and after being discarded by the 'civilised' Angel Clare is forced to wander the countryside in search of work:

Thus Tess walks on; a figure which is part of the landscape; a fieldwoman pure and simple, in winter guise; [...] Every thread of that old attire has become faded and thin under the stroke of raindrops, the burn of sunbeams, and the stress of winds [...] Thus she went forward from farm to farm.⁹³

Tess is rejected by most of the settlements where she applies for work and eventually has to accept the 'heavy and coarse' work at Flintcomb-Ash, a settlement in the process of disintegration.

Perhaps the most significant example of wanderers as outcasts in Hardy's novels is that of Jude and Sue in *Jude the Obscure*. Daniel Bivona comments that 'Jude is the alien within...spurned by the representative of English civilisation – Christminster – which constantly reimposes the boundary which separates the "civilised" from the "primitive"'.⁹⁴ Jude, who is seen as a representative of 'the primitive agrarian past of England',⁹⁵ is rejected by the so-called 'civilised' society which represents knowledge and power. Jude leaves Christminster after his rejection by the university; Sue leaves Melchester after being expelled from the training college and then escapes from her marriage and her life with Phillotson in Shaston. When she meets Jude in Melchester she expects that they will stay there, but Jude explains, 'we couldn't possibly, don't you see. We are known here [...] it wouldn't have done at all'.⁹⁶ The way of life which Jude and Sue adopt places them outside the accepted rules of society or as Sue puts it 'the social moulds civilisation fits us into',⁹⁷ and they feel compelled to move to a place where nobody knows them. They

⁹³ Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (London: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 355.

⁹⁴ Bivona, p. xii.

⁹⁵ Bivona, p. xii.

⁹⁶ *Jude*, p. 249.

⁹⁷ *Jude*, p. 215.

end up in the large town of Aldbrickham, far from Melchester, but even here they are not accepted; their neighbours become suspicious at the sudden arrival of little Jude and suspect that they are not legally married. Jude receives fewer commissions and they are barred from their work painting the Ten Commandments in a church: 'Thus the supersensitive couple were more and more impelled to go away'⁹⁸ and were obliged to sell their furniture and most of their possessions. They leave Aldbrickham and 'enter on a shifting, almost nomadic life',⁹⁹ stopping when work becomes available and then moving on. Eventually they decide to return to Christminster, but again because of their unconventional lifestyle find it difficult to find lodgings and disaster ensues.

In the words of Mayhew, Jude and Sue become 'outcasts from their own community' because they have not 'submitted themselves to social laws, recognizing the rights of property and reciprocal social duties'.¹⁰⁰ However, Jude and Sue become wanderers, as does Tess, not because they are primitive but because they are rejected by the settled communities of which they attempt to become part. In opposition to Mayhew and others, Hardy is suggesting that so-called 'civilised' societies may operate repressive social systems which refuse to acknowledge the rights of those who do not conform to the norms of these societies.

Mayhew did suggest that between the two extremes of wanderers and settlers 'ethnologists recognise a mediate variety, partaking of the attributes of both,' namely 'such races as wander their herds and flocks over vast plains'.¹⁰¹

Gillian Beer believes that in *The Return of the Native* Hardy also 'suggests a third possibility' in that 'the native inhabitants are constantly on the move within the

⁹⁸ *Jude*, p. 320.

⁹⁹ *Jude*, p. 325.

¹⁰⁰ Mayhew, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ Mayhew, p. 1.

confines, or within the range, of the heath'.¹⁰² Diggory Venn, the reddleman, who 'lived like a gypsy' (p. 74), is an example of such a wanderer, making 'a peregrination among farms which could be counted by the hundred' and leading an 'Arab existence' (p. 74). Beer notes that the heath dwellers:

walk for a purpose, to destinations, however wayward may seem their route: and all those destinations are within the circumference of the heath. To be forced beyond its range is, for most of these people, a disaster of the kind that Hardy described in 'The Dorsetshire Labourer' and explored in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* [...] the enforced travel of the poor is oppression.¹⁰³

As Venn travels across the heath he comes across birds like the wild mallard which have travelled from distant lands and he 'could feel himself to be in direct communication with regions unknown to man' (p. 84). These migratory birds are also wanderers but unlike Tess or Jude their wanderings ensure that the best conditions for survival are met and are not the result of rejection or oppression. The wanderers in Hardy's novels are not, of course, representatives of a more primitive type, but then neither are the wandering 'tribes' described by Mayhew. Both, either by choice or through force of circumstance, live outside the 'respectable' settled communities with their 'social laws' and 'rights of property', and adopt a way of life which requires considerable skill and adaptability. The life of the nomadic tribes is, on the whole, more peaceful, non-hierarchical and egalitarian than that of the 'civilised' settlers.

In this chapter I have explored the ways in which, in his writings, Hardy attempts to break down the barriers between the 'dual hierarchical opposites' which formed the basis of Victorian society. An ideology which expected rigid boundaries to be drawn between 'what is acceptable and what is not',¹⁰⁴ ensured that populations both at home and in the empire were classified as backward or advanced,

¹⁰² *Can the Native Return*, p. 519.

¹⁰³ *Can the Native Return*, p. 522.

¹⁰⁴ Eagleton, p. 115.

superstitious or rational, wanderers or settlers, and most importantly as primitive or civilised. Hardy shows that the barriers imposed by a Western, patriarchal ideology can and should be removed and that it is essential to recognise that the colonised are possessors of 'another knowledge and history' and producers of 'alternative traditions'.¹⁰⁵ In the next chapter I shall use Hardy's writings to examine the extent to which 'metropolitan and imperial themes' can be brought together into 'the same field of analysis,' and whether the hierarchies relating to gender, class and race can be equated with those operating between the colonisers and the colonised in the Empire.

¹⁰⁵ Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 12.

Chapter 5 The Crossing of Boundaries

In the language of colonialism, non-Europeans occupy the same symbolic space as women. Both are seen as part of nature, not culture, and with the same ambivalence: either they are ripe for government, passive, child-like, unsophisticated, needing leadership and guidance, described always in terms of lack – no initiative, no intellectual powers, no perseverance; or on the other hand, they are outside society, dangerous, treacherous, emotional, inconstant, wild, threatening, fickle, sexually aberrant, irrational, near animal, lascivious, disruptive, evil, unpredictable.¹

Benita Parry proposes that ‘to understand the imperial imaginary of British literature, enquiry must extend beyond the manifest representation of empire to those novels where it impinges in cryptic or oblique or encoded ways, and which hitherto had been read as narratives of an English condition sealed from and largely indifferent to the external world’.² In this chapter I examine Hardy’s writings to show how the institutions and structures which dominated late nineteenth century Britain, were the same institutions and structures which exerted power in the colonial countries of the Empire. In Chapter one I have shown how the ‘imperial mission was the export version of the gentlemanly order’ and how, in the words of Raymond Williams, there was an ‘extension to the whole world of that division of functions which in the nineteenth century was a division of functions within a single state’.³ Here I show how attitudes towards gender and sexuality as well as class were important in defining the relationship between the colonisers and the colonised, and that Hardy’s works provide an important insight into these attitudes. This insight may result from a ‘decoding’ of implied references, as Parry suggests, or by the drawing of direct parallels between Hardy’s exposure of the power structures within Britain and the

¹ Helen Carr, ‘Woman/Indian, the “American” and his Others’ (1985), quoted in Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 159-60.

² Benita Parry, *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 107.

³ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 279.

use of these powers in an imperial context. In this respect Hardy's writings may be considered as making a powerful contribution to the historical record of late nineteenth century imperial Britain.

Gayatri Spivak compares what she calls the 'epistemic violence' employed 'to constitute the colonial subject as "Other"', with Foucault's analysis of the relationship between power and knowledge in nineteenth century Europe, and asks 'what if the two projects of epistemic overhaul worked as dislocated and unacknowledged parts of a vast two-handed engine?'⁴ I argue that it is not sufficient simply to allegorise colonialism in terms of class and gender relations in Britain, but that they were both part of Spivak's 'vast two-handed engine' and controlled by the same patriarchal, economically dominant group. This is the group described by Cain and Hopkins as the 'gentlemanly capitalists',⁵ the men who controlled finance, the Law, the Universities and the Church, in other words the instruments of power within Britain and the Empire. I also show how the work of post-structuralist theorists in the latter half of the twentieth century can be used to analyse the binary oppositions inherent in any consideration of class, gender and race in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and that ideas of the 'Other' are of vital importance in this respect.

In a discussion with Raymond Williams in 1986, Edward Said caused considerable controversy when he declared:

in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled in the imperial or colonial or racial sense, race takes precedence over both class and gender...I have always felt that the problem of emphasis and relative importance took precedence over the need to establish one's feminist credentials.⁶

⁴ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak' [1988], in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1994), p. 76.

⁵ See Chapter I, p. 33.

⁶ Edward Said, 'Media, Margins and Modernity' (1989) in Raymond Williams, *Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* (London: Verso, 2007), pp. 196-7.

However, it is important to emphasise the fact that race, class and gender were all used to classify particular groups, and, as noted above, were constructed categories which those who held power could use to exert control, the underlying attitudes being similar in each case. Anne McClintock makes the point that without in any way wishing to 'diminish the enormous importance and influence of Said's work on male imperial relations,' she nonetheless regrets 'that he does not systematically explore the dynamics of gender as a critical aspect of the imperial project'.⁷

McClintock argues that

race, gender and class are not distinct realms of experience, existing in splendid isolation from each other [...] rather, they come into existence *in and through* relation to each other – if in contradictory and conflictual ways. In this sense, gender, race and class can be called articulated categories.⁸

This 'triangulated theme' is traced by McClintock through 'the intimate relations between imperial power and resistance; money and sexuality; race and gender',⁹ themes which I examine in this and previous chapters.

McClintock's argument was anticipated in some ways by Homi Bhabha, in his assertion that 'the construction of the colonial subject in discourse [...] demands an articulation of forms of difference – racial and sexual'. He argues that desire and domination cannot be separated in the representation of 'objects of difference – sexual or racial', and concludes that colonial discourse is 'a form of discourse crucial to the binding of a range of differences and discriminations that inform the discursive and political practices of racial and cultural hierarchization'.¹⁰ This definition is useful in the discussion of race and gender which follows, for the use of

⁷ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 14. Hereafter cited as *Imperial Leather*.

⁸ *Imperial Leather*, p. 5.

⁹ *Imperial Leather*, p. 5.

¹⁰ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994), p. 96. Hereafter cited as *Location of Culture*.

both terms involves 'an articulation of forms of difference', and particularly renders the use of the word 'race' problematic. Ideas of racial difference dominated the writings of many nineteenth century anthropologists and scientists, some of whose work is discussed in this chapter, and these ideas were used to develop the concept of 'otherness', and to justify a belief in Western superiority. The term 'race' is therefore used here as a nineteenth century colonial construct and is not concerned with essentialist or non-colonial concepts of race.

In the character of Sue Bridehead in his novel *Jude the Obscure*, Hardy seems to explore most fully the ramifications of the power structures operating within Britain and the consequences for those who are regarded as 'Other' by those who are in positions of power. George Wotton, writing on the depiction of women in Hardy's novels, joins the many critics who consider that these women 'are determined by the masculine gaze' and 'live their subjection in ideology through the roles which have been assigned to them as the Other. Captured by the masculine gaze, interpellated as subjects, subjected to the myth of being the weaker sex'.¹¹ The male characters are the 'perceiving subjects' who 'project their own subjectivity onto the Other and then see only these reflections'.¹² This view of the conditioning of women to conform to the male vision suggests a certain passivity on the part of women, but in the character of Sue Bridehead Hardy challenges and at the same time makes use of this view to explore the power relations between men and women and the possibility of rebellion against a dominant sexist ideology. In the previous chapter I discussed Hardy's pluralistic approach to many issues and Donald Davie's proposition that this seeming inconsistency relates to Hardy's rational acceptance of the world as it is.¹³

¹¹ George Wotton, *Thomas Hardy: Towards a Materialist Criticism* (Goldenbridge: Gill and Macmillan Ltd., 1985), pp.126-7. Hereafter cited as Wotton.

¹² Wotton, p. 133.

¹³ See Chapter 4, p. 143.

This means that he can portray in his novels the ideological construction of his female characters, but at the same time can portray real women struggling against a dominant ideology. As Penny Boumelha puts it, 'the radicalism of Hardy's representation of women resides, not in their "complexity", their "realism" or their "challenge to convention", but in their resistance to reduction to a single and uniform ideological position'.¹⁴

It is not difficult to see a correspondence between the masculine ideological conception of woman and the colonialist ideological conception of the colonised subject. Judith Butler, whose work in this respect has much in common with that of Homi Bhabha, suggests that concepts of gender and race develop, and may then become internalised as a result of authoritative discourse. In other words, identities are produced under 'conditions of domination'.¹⁵ Similarly Joanna De Groot argues in her discussion of sex and race in the nineteenth century:

there are not only similarities but structural connections between the treatment of women and of non-Europeans in the language, experience, and imaginations of western men. The structural link is constructed around the theme of domination/subordination central both to nineteenth-century masculine identity and to the western sense of superiority.¹⁶

In the character of Sue Bridehead, Hardy explores one woman's efforts to recognise and resist this 'authoritative discourse'.

I argue here that the way in which the colonised subject was regarded by the colonising power corresponded with the way in which women were regarded, both by individual men, and by a patriarchal society in late nineteenth century Britain.

¹⁴ Penny Boumelha, *Thomas Hardy and Women: Sexual Ideology and Narrative Form* [1982] (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 7. Hereafter cited as *Thomas Hardy and Women*.

¹⁵ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1990), p. 206. Hereafter cited as *Gender Trouble*.

¹⁶ Joanna de Groot, "'Sex" and "Race": The Construction of Language and Image in the Nineteenth Century' in Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall, eds., *Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary studies of gender in the nineteenth century* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 91. Hereafter cited as "Sex" and "Race".

The native of the colonies was seen as child-like, un-Christian (or Pagan), sexualised and servile, and as I show particularly with reference to his last three novels, Hardy's work can be used to demonstrate that the same categories were used to classify women. From Tess to Sue and eventually to the three Avices in *The Well-Beloved*, Hardy exposes and then attempts to challenge this 'masculine' view of women, a view based on ideas of inequality, domination and the 'Otherness' of women. In challenging the oppression of women in a patriarchal society, I propose that Hardy is also challenging other forms of ideological oppression including that of the native inhabitants in the colonised countries of the Empire.

The publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859 provided many anthropologists with a paradigm on which to base their theories of evolutionary progression within the races and types of humankind. Some passages from Darwin's later work *The Descent of Man* do seem to contribute to the idea of a progressive evolution of human types, but he also stresses the 'numerous points of mental similarity between the most distinct races of man'.¹⁷ However, when discussing the difference in the mental powers of the two sexes he is far less equivocal. Anne McClintock points out that the evolutionary tree of human types, favoured by 'social evolutionists', was characterised by a total absence of women:

Each epoch is represented by a single male type, who is characterised in turn by visible anatomical stigmata. From the outset, the idea of racial progress was gendered but in such a way as to render women invisible as historical agents.¹⁸

In *The Descent of Man* Darwin acknowledges that he considers women to be at a lower state of evolutionary development:

It is generally admitted that with woman the powers of intuition, of rapid perception, and perhaps of imitation, are more strongly marked than in man;

¹⁷ Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man* [1871] (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1989), p. 348. Hereafter cited as *Descent of Man*.

¹⁸ *Imperial Leather*, p. 39.

but some, at least, of these faculties are characteristic of the lower races, and therefore of a past and lower state of civilisation.¹⁹

In contemplating the lack of eminent women in painting, music, science and philosophy he concludes that 'if men are capable of a decided pre-eminence over women in many subjects, the average of mental power in man must be above that of woman'.²⁰ It is perhaps remarkable, that someone in possession of such exceptional deductive and reasoning ability could not recognise the possibility that other factors might be responsible for the absence of eminent women, particularly as *The Descent of Man* (1871) was published two years after John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* [1869] in which many such factors are suggested.

Hardy would have been familiar with Darwin's views, for 'as a young man he had been among the earliest acclaimers of *The Origin of Species*'.²¹ However, Darwin's views on the differences between the sexes were not well known, although shared by many anthropologists and scientists of the time (see below). It seems possible that Hardy had these ideas in mind when, in *Jude the Obscure*, he makes Jude say to Sue, after accusing her of abandoning her 'old logic': 'Is it peculiar to you, or is it common to Woman? Is a woman a thinking unit at all, or a fraction always wanting its integer?'²² Sue is, of course, the epitome of a thinking woman, and it is likely that Hardy is emphasising Jude's confusion and exasperation at Sue's behaviour by making him fall back on opinions voiced by many at the time. That Hardy was fully cognisant of current intellectual and scientific thought may be deduced from the writers he admired. In a letter to Helen Garwood in 1911 he says:

¹⁹ *Descent of Man*, p. 566.

²⁰ *Descent of Man*, p. 566.

²¹ *Life*, p. 153.

²² Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure* [1895] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 370. Further reference will be made by page number in parenthesis.

‘My pages show harmony of view with Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, Comte, Hume, Mill, and others, all of whom I used to read more than Schopenhauer’.²³

Hardy had great admiration for John Stuart Mill, particularly *On Liberty*, ‘which we students of that date knew almost by heart’,²⁴ but there is no direct evidence that he read *The Subjection of Women*. Sue Bridehead does however quote Mill in *Jude the Obscure*, using his views to demonstrate her resistance to domination and ‘authoritative discourse’. Quoting from *On Liberty*, she says to Phillotson:

She, or he, “who lets the world, or his own portion of it, choose his plan of life for him, has no need of any other faculty than the ape-like one of imitation.” J.S.Mill’s words, those are. I have been reading it up. Why can’t you act upon them? I wish to, always (p. 234).

Mill does actually make comparisons between ‘the government of the male sex’ and other forms of unjust power, such as that of master over slave and ‘the dominion of the white man over the black’.²⁵ He argues that although these forms of oppression were once considered to be the natural order of things, they were, at the time at which he was writing, becoming unacceptable, whereas the ‘social subordination’ of women was still accepted unquestioningly by most.

T.H.Huxley and Herbert Spencer did argue for equal rights for ‘blacks and women,’ but equal rights, as Abraham Lincoln made clear in the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858 did not necessarily mean complete ‘political and social equality’, and did not necessitate the acknowledgement of equality ‘in intellectual and moral endowments’. It is worth quoting two passages from these debates to demonstrate

²³ Cited in Helen Garwood, ‘Thomas Hardy: An Illustration of the Philosophy of Schopenhauer’ (Philadelphia: John Winston, 1911) in Walter F. Wright, *The Shaping of The Dynasts* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1967), p. 38.

²⁴ *Life*, p. 330.

²⁵ John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (1869) (London: Virago Press Ltd., 1983), pp. 20-1.

mid nineteenth-century attitudes towards black people and women, views held even by a moderate like Lincoln:

There is a physical difference between the two (white and black races) which, in my judgement, will probably forbid their ever living together upon the footing of perfect equality; and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favour of the race to which I belong having the superior position.²⁶

There are portions, large portions, - women, minors, insane, culprits, transient sojourners – that will always probably remain subject to the government of another portion of the community.²⁷

As Robin Gilmour observes, ‘even those with the best of intentions could not help being influenced by the assumptions of their time’.²⁸ Peter Bowler notes that although T.H.Huxley was considered to be a liberal ‘he campaigned actively to keep women out of the scientific and medical professions’, and insisted that women’s brains were ‘smaller or less convoluted than men’s’.²⁹ (See Broca below). Herbert Spencer also maintained that ‘the female sex had to devote most of its vital energies to reproduction, leaving less for intellectual development’.³⁰

Darwin’s view that women’s intuitive and emotional abilities were comparable to those of ‘the lower races’ were shared by various writers in the nineteenth century. The American palaeontologist, E.D.Cope, in describing the characteristics of the ‘southern races’ from tropical regions, says:

We find in that race [...] a larger proportion of certain qualities which are more universal in women, as greater activity of the emotional nature when compared with the judgement....Perhaps the more northern type left all that behind in its youth.³¹

²⁶ Abraham Lincoln, Lincoln-Douglas Debates (Ottawa, 21 August, 1858), <http://bartleby.com/251/1006> (accessed 13/04/09).

²⁷ Abraham Lincoln, Lincoln-Douglas Debates (Alton, 15 Oct. 1858), <http://bartleby.com/251/72> (accessed 13/04/09).

²⁸ Robin Gilmour, *The Victorian Period: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1830-1890* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 1993), p. 59.

²⁹ Peter J Bowler, *Evolution: The History of an Idea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), p. 313.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 314.

³¹ E.D.Cope [1887], in Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1981), p. 115. Hereafter cited as *Mismeasure of Man*.

Unlike Darwin, however, Cope believed that all 'inferior' groups were at the same stage of development as the children of white males, and he identified four such groups: 'non white races, all women, southern as opposed to northern European whites, and lower classes within superior races'.³² The work of Cope and other scientists and anthropologists in the second half of the nineteenth century who shared his beliefs, led to an increased interest in comparative brain and skull measurement, in an attempt to demonstrate anatomical differences, and thereby differences in intellectual capacity, between people of different races, classes and sexes.

The person who exerted most influence in this field was Paul Broca, a Parisian surgeon, who carried out measurements of the brains of males and females and people from different racial groups during autopsies. He concluded that on average women and 'inferior races' had smaller brains than men and 'superior races'.³³ Stephen Jay Gould and others have shown since that many false presumptions were made by Broca in the interpretation of his data. Gould notes that 'his facts were reliable, but they were gathered selectively and then manipulated unconsciously in the service of prior conclusions'.³⁴ Indeed it is now accepted that the size of human brains bears no relationship to the degree of intelligence, but at the time most of Broca's fellow scientists were happy to accept this supposed proof of women's inferiority. One of Broca's associates, Gustave Le Bon, wrote in 1879:

In the most intelligent races, as among the Parisians, there are a large number of women whose brains are closer in size to those of gorillas than to the most developed male brains. This inferiority is so obvious that no one can contest it for a moment; only its degree is worth discussion. All psychologists who have studied the intelligence of women, as well as poets and novelists, recognise today that they represent the most inferior forms of human evolution and that they are closer to children and savages than to an adult, civilised man. They

³² *Mismeasure of Man*, p. 115.

³³ Paul Broca [1861], in *Mismeasure of Man*, p. 83.

³⁴ *Mismeasure of Man*, p. 85.

excel in fickleness, inconstancy, absence of thought and logic, and incapacity to reason.³⁵

Stephen Jay Gould emphasises the point that these statements about the brains of women 'do not reflect an isolated prejudice toward a single disadvantaged group' but contribute to the general theory that differences between sexes, races and classes were 'biologically ordained'.³⁶ Gould adds:

This juxtaposition extended into many other realms of anthropological argument, particularly to claims that, anatomically and emotionally, both women and blacks were like white children – and that white children, by the theory of recapitulation represented an ancestral (primitive) adult stage of human evolution.³⁷

The representation of white women and people of other races as being childlike, sensual beings, governed by their emotions and lacking the ability to reason was also extended to members of the poor working class. In the words of Anne McClintock, 'the agency of women, the colonised and the industrial working class are disavowed and projected onto anachronistic space: prehistoric, atavistic and irrational, inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity'.³⁸

An important aspect of these theories was the belief that members of these groups were governed by their baser instincts and if left unchecked would give way to lasciviousness and sexual excess. In 1906, the American physician Robert Bean said, 'The Negro is primarily affectionate, immensely emotional, then sensual and under stimulation passionate. [...] There is instability of character incident to lack of self-control, especially in connection with the sexual relation'.³⁹ As women were also seen as inherently degenerate, it follows that any display of sensuality in women

³⁵ Gustave Le Bon, 'Recherches anatomiques et mathématiques sur les lois des variations du volume du cerveau et sur leurs relations avec intelligence.' *Revue d'Anthropologie*, vol. 2, 60-61, in *Mismeasure of Man*, pp. 104-5.

³⁶ Stephen Jay Gould, *The Panda's Thumb* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1983), p. 131.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Imperial Leather*, p. 40.

³⁹ Robert Bean, 'Some racial peculiarities of the Negro brain.' *American Journal of Anatomy* 5:353-432, in *Mismeasure of Man*, p. 79.

would confirm their essential animal natures. In the words of Anne McClintock 'the idea of racial "purity" depends on the rigorous policing of women's sexuality'.⁴⁰ The conflation of animality, sexuality and race is perhaps nowhere more clearly depicted than in the character of Bertha Mason in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. Rochester explains to Jane how he had been trapped by Bertha's 'charms and accomplishments', and how, as her madness developed she 'dragged me through all the hideous and degrading agonies which must attend a man bound to a wife at once intemperate and unchaste [...] no professed harlot ever had a fouler vocabulary than she'.⁴¹ Bertha is frequently referred to as an animal:

What it was, whether beast or human being, one could not, at first sight, tell: it grovelled, seemingly, on all fours; it snatched and growled like some strange wild animal: but it was covered with clothing, and a quantity of dark, grizzled hair, wild as a mane, hid its head and face.⁴²

Bertha is a Creole, the daughter of a European, West Indian planter, and there is a suggestion that she is of mixed race. Susan Meyer, in her article on *Jane Eyre* refers to Bertha as a 'Jamaican black woman', and although there is no evidence for this, she is of course a 'native "subject"' of the West Indies, and therefore in Meyer's words 'excluded from the individualistic humanity which the novel's feminism claims for Jane'.⁴³ Gayatri Spivak suggests that Bertha's function in *Jane Eyre* is 'to render indeterminate the boundary between human and animal and thereby to weaken her entitlement under the spirit if not the letter of the Law'.⁴⁴ The portrayal of Bertha as sensual, passionate and governed by animal instincts links her with the 'biologically inferior' groups discussed above. Laura Ciolkowski, writing about Jean

⁴⁰ *Imperial Leather*, p. 61.

⁴¹ Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre* [1847] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 306. Hereafter cited as *Jane Eyre*

⁴² *Jane Eyre*, p. 293.

⁴³ Susan L Meyer, 'Colonialism and the Figurative Strategy of *Jane Eyre*' (1990), in Peter Childs ed., *Post-Colonial Theory and English Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 149. Hereafter cited as Meyer.

⁴⁴ Gayatri Spivak, 'Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism, 1985,' in Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed., *"Race," Writing, and Difference* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 268.

Rhys's portrayal of Antoinette (Bertha) Mason in her novel *Wide Sargasso Sea*,⁴⁵ says: 'not quite English and not quite "native" Rhys's Creole woman straddles the embattled divide between human and savage, core and periphery, self and other.'⁴⁶ No clearer articulation could be made between contemporary attitudes towards race and gender than in this portrayal of a brutish, sensual woman who is a native of a colonised country. In *Jane Eyre*, when Bertha enters Jane's room on the night before her wedding, Jane wakes and sees the reflection of Bertha's face in the mirror. She describes it to Rochester as 'a discoloured face – it was a savage face. I wish I could forget the roll of the red eyes and the fearful blackened inflation of the lineaments [...] the lips were swelled and dark'.⁴⁷ Meyer believes that this description 'insistently and stereotypically marks Bertha as non-white' and is a representation of racial 'otherness'. She proposes that in *Jane Eyre* parallels are drawn between oppressed 'dark-skinned peoples' and 'those oppressed by the hierarchies of social class and gender in Britain'.⁴⁸ Such a parallel is certainly made by Rochester when he tells Jane 'hiring a mistress is the next worse thing to buying a slave: both are often by nature, and always by position, inferior: and to live with inferiors is degrading'.⁴⁹ Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar believe that in her journey towards independence Jane is continually subject to patriarchal oppression.⁵⁰ Her first slave master, John Reed, bullies and torments her, resulting in her imprisonment in the red room at Gateshead. At Lowood she is imprisoned and starved by Mr Brocklehurst, and then at Thornfield she becomes the 'slave of passion' to Rochester. Finally she is

⁴⁵ See Jean Rhys, *Wide Sargasso Sea* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1968), for an imagined interpretation of 'Bertha's' life before Thornfield, and her cultural identification with the West Indies.

⁴⁶ Laura E. Ciolkowski, 'Navigating the *Wide Sargasso Sea*: Colonial History, English Fiction, and British Empire', *Twentieth Century Literature*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Autumn, 1997), 339-359.

⁴⁷ *Jane Eyre*, pp. 283-4.

⁴⁸ Meyer, p. 154.

⁴⁹ *Jane Eyre*, p. 311.

⁵⁰ See Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic*, 1979 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 366.

in danger of being imprisoned by St. John Rivers in the 'iron shroud'⁵¹ of principle. Meyer believes that in *Jane Eyre* an analogy is made between 'a resistance to the ideology of male domination and a resistance to the ideology of colonial domination', but she has to concede that:

the critique of colonialism which the novel promises to make through its analogy between forms of oppression finally collapses into a mere uneasiness about the effects of empire on domestic social relations in England.⁵²

Brontë's apparent acceptance of patriarchal imperialism at the end of the novel is referred to later in this chapter and contrasts strongly with Hardy's critique of all forms of ideological oppression, particularly in his late novels which were written nearly fifty years after *Jane Eyre*.

Tess, Sue and the Avices: the encoding of power relations in a patriarchal society.

'Ideology' will be used in the sense made familiar by Althusser and some subsequent Marxist theorists: that is, as a complex system of representations by which people are inserted as individual subjects into the social formation. Its role [...] is to offer a false resolution of real social contradictions by repressing the questions that challenge its limits and transposing, displacing or eliding the felt contradictions of lived experience in a way that will permit of an apparent resolution. [...] it obscures the nature of that experience, by representing as obvious and natural what is partial, factitious, and ineluctably social. [...] it will also encode other relations of power and dominance, and principally that of male dominance.⁵³

In this section I show how, in his last three novels, Hardy challenges the oppression of women in a patriarchal society. I suggest that this challenge implies a criticism of

⁵¹ *Jane Eyre*, p. 404.

⁵² Meyer, p. 162.

⁵³ Penny Boumelha, *Thomas Hardy and Women: Sexual Ideology and Narrative Form* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 5.

other forms of oppression enacted by that society, whether at home or in the countries of the Empire.

In *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* Hardy's choice of the words 'a pure woman' to describe Tess is a deliberate play on words, for Tess is pure woman, in the sense of being a natural, sensual human being whose sexuality is part of her nature, but she also has to play the role of 'a pure woman' as seen through the eyes of Angel Clare, who on first meeting her exclaims 'What a fresh and virginal daughter of Nature that milk-maid is!'⁵⁴ Tess is of course a 'daughter of Nature', but Angel appears to be blind to the fact that Nature is not pure and virginal, but instinctive, impulsive and sensual, and not subject to man-made laws. Hardy's narrative voice observes, 'women whose chief companions are the forms and forces of outdoor Nature retain in their souls far more of the Pagan fantasy of their remote forefathers than of the systematized religion taught their race at later date' (p. 158). When Tess is censured by the inhabitants of Marlot as a result of her pregnancy, we are told:

It was they that were out of harmony with the actual world, not she. Walking among the sleeping birds in the hedges, watching the skipping rabbits on a moonlit warren, or standing under a pheasant laden bough, she looked upon herself as a figure of Guilt intruding into the haunts of innocence. But all the while she was making a distinction where there was no difference. Feeling herself in antagonism she was quite in accord. She had been made to break an accepted social law, but no law known to the environment in which she fancied herself such an anomaly (p. 135).

Throughout the novel Tess is consistently portrayed as a sexual being but, as the native of the colonies was regarded by people like E.D.Cope and Paul Broca, she is also seen as being childlike and oppressed. The reader is constantly made aware of her animal sexuality as when she appears before Angel just after waking from sleep:

She was yawning, and he saw the red interior of her mouth as if it had been a snake's. She had stretched one arm so high above her coiled-up cable of hair that he could see its satin delicacy above the sunburn; her face was flushed

⁵⁴ Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* [1891] (London: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 176. Further reference will be made by page number in parenthesis.

with sleep, and her eyelids hung heavy over their pupils. The brimfulness of her nature breathed from her. It was a moment when a woman's soul is more incarnate than at any other time: when the most spiritual beauty bespeaks itself flesh, and sex takes the outside place in the presentation (p. 231).

When Tess becomes conscious of the effect which her appearance can have, she feels as if she is somehow doing something sinful by just being herself:

Tess, who had been quite unconscious of her actions and mien, instantly withdrew the large dark gaze of her eyes, stammering with a flush, "I beg your pardon!" And there was revived in her the wretched sentiment which had often come to her before, that in inhabiting the fleshy tabernacle with which nature had endowed her she was somehow doing wrong (p. 388).

Joanna Devereux notes that unlike Angel, Alec sees Tess as:

a purely sexual being who can control men through her potent sexuality. He calls her "My beauty", "you young witch", "temptress", and "witch of Babylon" [...]. His view of Tess as somehow innately evil and ready to dominate men accords with contemporary medical theories about female sexuality as something powerful, dangerous, and animalistic – something needing to be kept rigorously in check at all times.⁵⁵

This view corresponds exactly with contemporary theories on the sexual behaviour of black people as previously discussed. Sander L. Gilman writes that 'by the eighteenth century, the sexuality of the black, both male and female, becomes an icon for deviant sexuality in general', and he quotes Buffon who commented 'on the lascivious, apeline sexual appetite of the black'.⁵⁶ A parallel was drawn between the so-called 'primitive' black and the white prostitute; as Gilman says: 'the perception of the prostitute in the late nineteenth century thus merged with the perception of the black'.⁵⁷ In the colonial situation, faced with the forbidden temptations of interracial sexuality:

the "white *man's* burden" thus becomes his sexuality and its control, and it is this which is transferred into the need to control the sexuality of the Other, the

⁵⁵ Joanna Devereux, *Patriarchy and Its Discontents* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 117. Hereafter cited as *Patriarchy and Its Discontents*.

⁵⁶ Sander L. Gilman, 'Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine and Literature' in Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed., "Race," *Writing and Difference* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 228-231.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 248.

Other as sexualised female. The colonial mentality which sees “natives” as needing control is easily transferred to “woman” – but woman as exemplified by the caste of the prostitute.⁵⁸

Gilman, in his discussion of race and sexuality, considers the work of the Italian criminologist, Cesare Lombroso,⁵⁹ who in the mid nineteenth century used the theory of degenerationism to link together the urban poor, criminals, prostitutes and the ‘primitive’ black as atavistic types, throwbacks ‘to an earlier, more vicious type of human’.⁶⁰ Shumaker notes that ‘racism, classism and sexism intertwined in studies such as Lombroso’s,’ and that the theory of degenerationism was used as a justification for the imperial mission.

The accusation of being a prostitute could of course be applied to any woman who was conceived as transgressing the current moral code relating to sexual behaviour, and it is clear that the Trantridge man who recognises and insults Tess when she is visiting the local town with Angel, sees her in this light. Significantly it is this same man who later becomes Tess’s slave-driving employer at Flintcomb-Ash.

In the late nineteenth century the control of both women and ‘natives’ was not confined to the area of sexuality but was manifest far more generally in the form of domination and subordination, in relationships which mirrored those of parent – child and master – servant. Joanna de Groot makes the point that:

Women and natives might also be portrayed and treated as children in need of protection and care of male/imperial authority by virtue of their weaknesses, innocence, and inadequacy. The use of a parental concept of authority combined a sense of care and involvement with the subordinate sex or race as well as power and control over them, and as such was equally appropriate for the definition of the power of men over women or of dominant over subordinate races.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 256.

⁵⁹ See Cesare Lombroso and Guillaume Ferrero, *The Prostitute and the Normal Woman* (Turin, 1893).

⁶⁰ Jeanette Roberts Shumaker, ‘Abjection and Degeneration in Thomas Hardy’s “Barbara of the House of Grebe,”’ in *College Literature* 26.2 (Spring 1999), p. 2. Hereafter cited as Shumaker.

⁶¹ “Sex” and “Race”, p. 98.

Throughout Hardy's novel Tess is depicted as being dominated, either because of her childlike qualities or because of her servitude. Her relationship with Angel Clare is often shown as that between a wise parent and ignorant child or between a master and his servant. In his first discussions with her at Talbothays, he dismisses the idea that she may have any serious ideas of her own: 'as he looked at the unpractised mouth and lips, he thought that such a daughter of the soil could only have caught up the sentiments by rote' (p. 183). Later when Angel is trying to persuade her to accept his proposal of marriage she seems to have accepted the role of naive child:

At such times as this, apprehending the grounds of her refusal to be her modest sense of incompetence in matters social and polite, he would say that she was wonderfully well-informed and versatile – which was certainly true, her natural quickness, and her admiration for him, having led her to pick up his vocabulary, his accent, and fragments of his knowledge, to a surprising extent. (p. 238).

Angel frequently refers to Tess as a child in need of his protection: 'You are a child to me' (p. 255), and 'to tell the truth, my Tess, I don't like you to be left anywhere away from my protection' (p. 269). When discussing the date of their marriage he clearly sees this as the time when she will become his property: 'it is in every way desirable and convenient that I should carry you off then as my property' (p. 268). On their wedding night when Tess has revealed the truth of her past to him she says, 'I will obey you like your wretched slave, even if it is to lie down and die' (p. 300), and later, when he carries her out of the house during his sleep, we read 'so casefully had she delivered her whole being up to him that it pleased her to think he was regarding her as his absolute possession, to dispose of as he should choose' (p. 318).

Alec d'Urberville, the son of a 'coloniser' from the North who built a modern estate in close proximity to the ancient forest land of The Chase, behaves like a slave owner, sexually exploiting the local girls. On their drive to Trantridge, Alec

constantly attempts to kiss Tess despite her protestations, and eventually gives her 'the kiss of mastery'. Tess 'flushed with shame, took out her handkerchief, and wiped the spot on her cheek that had been touched by his lips'. Her spurned companion responds 'you are mighty sensitive for a cottage girl!' (pp. 96-7), indicating that he is not accustomed to having his advances rejected. Tess's rape occurs under 'the primaeval yews and oaks of The Chase', suggesting a rape of the ancient country by a foreign intruder, as well as the rape of an individual. Anne McClintock explores the use of 'sexuality as a trope for other power relations',⁶² and one aspect of imperial power was the entering and possessing of 'virgin' land. Adam Gussow, whose work I have discussed in Chapter one, comments that 'Tess herself is a kind of numinous terrain, unwillingly mapped by male desire in a manner not wholly separable from the more general colonial project'.⁶³

After the rape, Hardy poses the question: 'But where was Tess's guardian angel?' (p. 119), and in the original serial version he adds 'Why things should have been thus, why they should so often be thus, many thousands years of analytical philosophy have failed to explain to our sense of order. As Tess's own people down in those retreats were never tired of saying to each other, in their fatalistic way, "It was to be." There lay the pity of it'.⁶⁴ This comment may well be applied to all situations in which certain groups and individuals use their power to dominate and subjugate others. Hardy makes the point that Tess's aristocratic ancestors had probably 'dealt the same measures even more ruthlessly towards peasant girls of

⁶² *Imperial Leather*, p. 14.

⁶³ Adam Gussow, 'Dreaming Holmberry-Lipped Tess: Aboriginal Reverie and Spectatorial Desire in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*' in *Studies in the Novel*, 00393827, Winter 2000, Vol. 32, Issue 4, p. 2.

⁶⁴ Thomas Hardy, in David Skilton ed., 'Textual Notes,' in Thomas Hardy *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (London: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 502.

their time' (p. 119), as indeed their descendants were dealing out towards colonial subjects in the nineteenth century. Much later in the novel, when Tess lashes out at Alec, she cries 'Now, punish me! Whip me, crush me! I shall not cry out. Once victim, always victim – that's the law!' and Alec's response is 'I was your master once! I will be your master again' (pp. 411-12). The master – slave relationship was as evident in rural England as it was in many of the countries of the Empire.

Tess, then, because of her sex is raped by one man, rejected by another, and finally destroyed by the society in which she lives. In *Jude the Obscure*, Sue Bridehead is neither raped nor rejected, and although mentally and emotionally destroyed survives at the end of the novel. In the words of Joanna Devereux 'the resistance that Tess would not offer to the dominant patriarchal belief system that ultimately destroys her can be seen at work in the figure of Sue Bridehead'.⁶⁵ In the character of Sue, Hardy seems to be questioning the portrayal of women as being defined primarily by their sexuality, and is attempting to break down the prevailing cultural barriers between male and female and dominant and subordinate groups. However, the dominant ideology eventually proves to be too strong for Sue and she is forced into submission: 'I am cowed into submission. I have no more fighting strength left, no more enterprise. I am beaten, beaten!' (p. 361).

There is a marked contrast between the physical descriptions of Sue and those of Tess, indicating an attempt by Hardy to portray in Sue a woman who is not defined by her sexuality. Tess is described as having 'a luxuriance of aspect, a fullness of growth, which made her appear more of a woman than she really was' (p. 82). Sue is described as having a 'slight figure' (p. 136), and as a 'slim and fragile being' (p. 150). Jude notes the 'small, tight, apple-like convexities of her bodice, so

⁶⁵ *Patriarchy and its Discontents*, p. 121.

different from Arabella's amplitudes' (p. 195). Arabella, with her 'round and prominent bosom' was 'a complete and substantial female animal' (p. 36), but a female animal having little in common with the sensual Tess, who feels guilty about the effect which her appearance might have on the men she meets. On the way to Flintcomb-Ash she puts on her oldest clothes, covers her face with a handkerchief and cuts her eyebrows in order to avoid unwelcome attention. In contrast Arabella continually flaunts her sexuality, secreting the hen's egg in her bosom to entice Jude, artificially producing dimples in her cheeks and wearing a false hair piece.

Arabella is certainly not the submissive, domesticated woman demanded by Victorian society, but she is of course a working-class woman, and is therefore outside the borders of respectable society. An interesting comparison may be made between the male and female characters in *Tess* and *Jude*, Arabella who seduces Jude and eventually gains mastery over him taking the place of Alec who seduces Tess and eventually gains mastery over her. Sue may be seen as the equivalent of Angel, the cerebral idealist, who ends up destroying Jude as Angel destroys Tess. Marjorie Garson quotes Mrs Oliphant's reaction to *Jude*: 'it is the women who are the active agents [...] the story is carried on, and life is represented as carried on, entirely by their means'.⁶⁶ Garson believes that in the novel 'the victim is a man, and the destructive collaborators are women'.⁶⁷ Although Hardy is certainly exploring the possibility of crossing the boundaries between traditional gender roles, it is obviously not accurate to say that Jude is the only victim, even though the novel ends with his death. Jude is a victim because of his class and because of the thwarting of his natural sexual desires, but Sue is a victim because of her sex and her attempts not to conform to society's expectations of a woman. As Joanna Devereux

⁶⁶ Margaret Oliphant, 'The Anti-Marriage League', (Blackwood's Magazine, 1896, 159, 135-49), in Marjorie Garson, *Hardy's Fables of Integrity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 158.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 158.

points out, 'Sue's story becomes an indictment of gender inequities, just as Jude's is an indictment of social inequities.'⁶⁸ If Hardy is using Sue to explore the possibility of achieving an alternative ordering of society in which barriers between male and female and master and servant are removed, then he clearly fails in this respect in this novel. Perhaps Hardy realised that the issues which he raised and debated in *Jude* were too complex to be solved in the age in which he was writing.

Sue's deviance from 'the masculinist alter-ideology's construction of what a woman should be'⁶⁹ is commented on by many male critics of Sue's character. D.H.Lawrence sees Sue as 'the old woman-type of witch or prophetess, which adhered to the male principle, and destroyed the female [...] she was born with the vital female atrophied in her; she was almost male [...] being of the feminine gender, she is yet no woman at all, nor male, she is almost neuter'.⁷⁰ R.B.Heilman describes Sue as the 'true, ultimate coquette, the coquette in nature [...] her deficiency in sex [...] is a logical correlative of her enthroning of critical intellect'.⁷¹ According to these critics Sue is not a 'real' woman because she does not see her relationship with men in purely sexual terms. It is clear that Jude does not see Sue as being asexual when he ponders 'If he could only get over the sense of her sex, as she seemed to be able to do so easily of his, what a comrade she would make' (p. 159), and it is significant that three men in the novel are actually in love with her, one of whom, the young undergraduate, seemingly dies because he is rejected. I have discussed above the use of classification and measuring to place the different races, classes and sexes into biologically determined groups, and arguably Hardy uses the character of Sue to defy any such classification. The fact that Sue is ultimately driven by circumstance

⁶⁸ *Patriarchy and its Discontents*, p. 125.

⁶⁹ Wotton, p. 182.

⁷⁰ D.H.Lawrence, *Study of Thomas Hardy and Other Essays*, ed. Bruce Steele (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 108,122.

⁷¹ R.B.Heilman, 'Hardy's Sue Bridehead', in *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, XX, (March, 1966), 313.

to succumb to the pressures of society, perhaps reflects Hardy's view that society was not yet ready to accept some of the ideas he puts forward in the novel. As Jude says, 'Perhaps the world is not illuminated enough for such experiments as ours! Who were we, to think we could act as pioneers!'(p. 371).

The binary oppositions between male and female and between master and slave are eventually restored as Sue is subordinated both to an individual and to the laws of a patriarchal society, thus confounding her previous strongly held views on marriage. In a letter to Jude she comments on the humiliation inherent in the concept of being 'given away' in marriage: 'my bridegroom chooses me of his own will and pleasure; but I don't choose him. Somebody *gives* me to him, like a she-ass or she-goat, or any other domestic animal' (p. 177). When meeting Jude at Aunt Drusilla's funeral in Marygreen, she refers to marriage as 'a sordid contract, based on material convenience in householding, rating and taxing' (p. 220), making the marriage contract sound like a contract for hiring a domestic servant. Mrs Oliphant, one of the most outspoken critics of *Jude*, likens it to propaganda for 'The Anti-Marriage League', but Hardy was not alone in speaking out against the servitude of women which so often accompanied marriage at the time. Rhoda Nunn, in George Gissing's novel *The Odd Women*, which was published two years before *Jude*, shares Sue's antagonism to marriage: 'I would have girls taught that marriage is a thing to be avoided rather than hoped for. I would teach them that for the majority of women marriage means disgrace,' and she later adds 'my own ideal of marriage involves perfect freedom on both sides'.⁷² Sue's view of marriage as a form of bondage is also suggested by Gissing in his portrayal of the marriage of Monica and Edmund Widdowson. Monica feels trapped by Widdowson's extreme possessiveness:

⁷² George Gissing, *The Odd Women* [1893] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 112,117. Hereafter cited as *The Odd Women*.

‘everything he said presupposed his own supremacy; he took for granted that it was his to direct, hers to be guided.’ She asks ‘do you think of me as your servant, Edmund [...] it is you who forbid, and allow, and command’.⁷³ She later entreats him to think of her as a ‘free companion’ rather than as a ‘bondwoman’.⁷⁴ Like Widdowson, Phillotson, though by no means a cruel master, addresses Sue as someone under his control: ‘I’ve been kind to you, and given you every liberty’ (p. 232) he insists, when she expresses the wish to have her own room. Sue’s reaction when he inadvertently enters her room, is that of a desperate captive attempting to escape by leaping out of the window, reduced to a ‘white heap’ on the ground below.

After her divorce from Phillotson, Sue is reluctant to embark on a marriage with Jude. She knows that a sexual relationship will most likely lead to children and a binding commitment; as Penny Boumelha points out, ‘*Jude* illustrates how a relationship conceived by its protagonists as in opposition to marriage cannot help becoming its replica – that it is in the lived texture of the relationship that the oppression resides, and not in the small print of the contract.’⁷⁵ In *The Odd Women* the same dilemma is faced by Rhoda Nunn and Everard Barfoot: neither of them wish to commit themselves to marriage, but both realise that whether bound by a legal bond or not, they would still be expected to conform to the norms of society, with the woman playing a subservient role. As Rhoda muses of Everard: ‘Was he in truth capable of respecting her individuality? Or would his strong instinct of lordship urge him to direct his wife as a dependant, to impose upon her his own view of things?’⁷⁶ Perhaps, ironically, it is Arabella, the woman who twice enslaves Jude, who pronounces on the truth of the situation for most women when she says to

⁷³ *The Odd Women*, pp. 187-8.

⁷⁴ *The Odd Women*, p. 225.

⁷⁵ *Thomas Hardy and Women*, p. 150.

⁷⁶ *The Odd Women*, p. 299.

Phillotson: 'I shouldn't have let her go! I should have kept her chained on – her spirit for kicking would have been broke soon enough! There's nothing like bondage and a stone-deaf task-master for taming us women. Besides, you've got the laws on your side' (p. 335).

On the eve of his remarriage to Sue, Phillotson agrees with his friend Gillingham that he should not have 'opened the cage door and let the bird go' and Gillingham wonders if Phillotson's experiences would make him 'more orthodoxly cruel to her' (p. 387). He warns 'you must tighten the reins by degrees only. Don't be too strenuous at first. She'll come to any terms in time' (p. 387). The image of woman as slave could hardly be more powerfully described.

The way in which those in positions of power can use their authority to control individual behaviour and relationships was being held up to scrutiny by Hardy in *Jude the Obscure* and was to be investigated in great depth by many writers and thinkers later in the twentieth century. Michel Foucault claimed that the measures taken by society to control the behaviour of individuals would 'become anchorage points for the different varieties of racism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'.⁷⁷ The desire to measure, describe and categorise individuals which began in the nineteenth century, would result in the marginalisation of certain groups, including women, the poor, the insane and also of course the native inhabitants of the colonised countries. As Joanna De Groot says:

Femininity' or 'negritude' or 'oriental' characteristics were conceived of as inborn or given features with which 'nature' endowed people [...] This, of course, allowed any woman or 'race' who resisted conformity to the norms thus established to be defined as *not* normal or natural, while also allowing the argument that if 'natives' or women were not fitted *by nature* for civic rights or education there was little point in offering such benefits to them. If gender and race were conceived as *essential*, 'naturally' fixed categories, then they could

⁷⁷ Michel Foucault, *The Will to Knowledge* [1976], trans. Robert Hurley (London: Penguin Books, 1998), p. 26.

not be affected by *contingent* factors, whether history, social change, or demands for reform.⁷⁸

In his last published novel *The Well-Beloved*, Hardy exposes the fantasy of male power over women, the ultimate collapse of this power, and suggests the somewhat optimistic possibility hinted at in *Jude the Obscure*, that patriarchal power itself will somehow be defeated. In this novel he explores power relations related to race and class as well as gender, for the three Avices in addition to being women, are the social inferiors of Pierston and are the inhabitants of an off-shore island, 'the home of a curious and well-nigh distinct people, cherishing strange beliefs and singular customs'.⁷⁹ However, the women in *The Well-Beloved* come to be seen not as children or slaves or in purely sexual terms, but as 'real' people who have demonstrated 'their resistance to reduction to a single and uniform ideological position'.⁸⁰ In the words of Jane Thomas, Pierston's muses 'gradually move from the passive objects of his fancy to active, manipulative and determined women in their own right and leave him bereft of inspiration and desire – quite literally emasculated'.⁸¹ Hardy himself has moved from the portrayal in *Tess* of a sexualised woman, dominated by men and by society, to Sue Bridehead, a woman who attempts to resist this domination but ultimately fails, and finally in *The Well-Beloved*, to women who resist domination by being themselves rather than conforming to the image imposed upon them by men. The relationship between male artist and female muse as exemplified in *The Well-Beloved* is described by Jane Thomas as an archetype which 'reinforces and naturalises the unequal distribution of power

⁷⁸ "Sex" and "Race", p. 96.

⁷⁹ Thomas Hardy, Preface, *The Well-Beloved* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2000), p. 3. Further references will be made by page number in parenthesis.

⁸⁰ *Thomas Hardy and Women*, p. 7.

⁸¹ Jane Thomas, Introduction : Thomas Hardy, *The Well-Beloved* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2000), p. xviii. Hereafter cited as Jane Thomas.

implicit in the gender relations of the second half of the nineteenth century'.⁸² This 'unequal distribution of power' was also implicit in the relationship between the imperialist and the native of the colonies, and Joanna De Groot actually interprets this relationship in the context of the European, male, artist and the oriental female. She maintains that men in their roles as 'sexual beings, as artists and intellectuals, as imperial rulers, and as wielders of knowledge, skill, and power' expressed these roles 'through artistic fantasy and imaginative constructions of the female and non-Western Other'.⁸³ De Groot notes that orientalist art of the nineteenth century is characterised by an 'absence of clear distinctions or boundaries between observed and imagined reality',⁸⁴ and Pierston's *Well-Beloved* is likewise 'of no tangible substance: a spirit, a dream, a frenzy, a conception, an aroma, an epitomised sex, a light of the eye, a parting of the lips. God only knew what she really was; Pierston did not' (p. 12). Nineteenth century painters such as John Frederick Lewis and Jean-Léon Gérôme placed most of their works in oriental settings such as harems and bath houses, depicting naked women usually accompanied by male authority figures, thus tying 'their sexual attractions closely to possession, control, and subordination'.⁸⁵ Pierston similarly attempts 'to capture in stone an immaculate female form',⁸⁶ and in doing so demonstrates a desire for domination by creating an idealised rather than true image of his subjects. As he tries to explain to his friend Somers 'as flesh she dies daily, like the Apostle's corporeal self; because when I grapple with the reality she's no longer in it, so that I cannot stick to one incarnation if I would' (p. 40). The image of the 'mysterious female' has been equated with that of the 'mysterious

⁸² Jane Thomas, p. xvii.

⁸³ "Sex" and "Race", p. 100.

⁸⁴ "Sex" and "Race", p. 101.

⁸⁵ "Sex" and "Race", p. 111.

⁸⁶ Andrew Radford, *Thomas Hardy and the Survivals of Time* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), p.208. Hereafter cited as *Survivals of Time*.

Orient', both representing an 'Other' which was 'seen as hard for western men to understand; [...] not merely different and subordinate, but also desirable and necessary to men'.⁸⁷ The dangers inherent in this image have been discussed by various writers, including Sara Suleri, whose work will be examined later in this chapter. She believes that 'current discourse' frequently 'tends to replicate the Orientalist desire to shroud the east in a "female" mystery,' resulting in what she considers to be a 'feminisation of the colonised'.⁸⁸ Edward Said says that in Western eyes 'the Orient is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, "different"',⁸⁹ all words used to describe women in the nineteenth century.

The link between female subordination and Oriental desire had been indicated by Charlotte Brontë in her novel *Jane Eyre*. Jane feels humiliated and degraded when Mr Rochester obliges her to go to a 'certain silk warehouse' to buy dresses, feeling that she is being 'dressed like a doll'. When Rochester smiles at her 'she thought his smile was such as a sultan might [...] bestow on a slave his gold and gems had enriched. Rochester vows that 'he would not exchange this one little English girl for the Grand Turk's whole seraglio', and Jane, feeling further humiliated by being bracketed with the members of a harem, tells Rochester to go to 'the bazaars of Stamboul without delay, and lay out in extensive slave-purchases some of that spare cash you seem at a loss to spend satisfactorily here'. She says that she would then 'go out as a missionary to preach liberty to them that are enslaved', incite them to mutiny against their captor, and imprison him until he signs a charter 'the most liberal that despot ever yet conferred'.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ "Sex" and "Race", p. 105.

⁸⁸ Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 16. Hereafter cited as *Rhetoric of English India*.

⁸⁹ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 1978 (London: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 40. Hereafter cited as *Orientalism*.

⁹⁰ *Jane Eyre*, pp. 268-9.

Joyce Zonana comments that this 'image is startling in its extremity', and goes on to suggest that the image of sultan and slave was used by many nineteenth century women writers to criticise the subordinate position of Western women, by suggesting that this behaviour was 'Eastern,' and therefore uncivilised and un-Christian.⁹¹ Just as in *The Well Beloved*, Pierston builds up a fantasised image of women far removed from reality, writers like Charlotte Brontë would have a fantasised image of the Orient built up from stories in the *Arabian Nights*. Brontë is rejecting the patriarchal system which allows men to exert power over women, but she accepts the patriarchal imperialism practiced by St. John Rivers in India, where 'he labours for his race' and 'clears their painful way to improvement'.⁹²

Hardy, in contrast, attempts to demonstrate in his writings that the power inherent within a patriarchal society is exerted over all groups which might seek to oppose or undermine it, and that Christian, Western civilisation does not have a particular claim to superiority.

Pierston's fantasised image of idealised woman, the 'Well-Beloved', which he attempts to create in his sculptures, takes up temporary residence in the real bodies of many of the women he meets. Four of these women, the three generations of Avices together with Marcia Bencomb, originate from the remote Isle of Slingers, home to 'a strange, visionary race' (p. 27), although Marcia like Pierston has lived away from the island in London for some time, and is therefore considered as a 'foreigner'. Like the Orientalist painters, Pierston romanticises the inhabitants of this strange land and deludes himself into thinking that each of these women in turn is the true idealisation of the Well-Beloved. However, as with all its previous

⁹¹ Joyce Zonana, 'The Sultan and the Slave: Feminist Orientalism and the Structure of *Jane Eyre*,' [1993] in Peter Childs, ed., *Post-Colonial Theory and English Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 169.

⁹² *Jane Eyre*, p. 452.

incarnations, Pierston finds that the Well-Beloved starts to leave the body it occupies as his knowledge of the real person occupying that body increases. As George Wotton comments: 'We see in Jocelyn's (Pierston's) pursuit of the Well-Beloved the most developed image in Hardy's writing of that false idealism which represses the real and isolates the individual from his environment by substituting an illusory relation to the seen for a real one.'⁹³

With the first Avice Caro, whom he has known since childhood, the process of idealisation hardly has time to occur: 'he felt by no means sure that the migratory, elusive idealisation he called his Love, who, ever since his boyhood, had flitted from human shell to human shell an indefinite number of times, was going to take up her abode in the body of Avice Caro' (p. 10). Later he admits to his friend Somers; 'upon the whole, I have decided that, after all, she did not enter the form of Avice Caro, because I retain so great a respect for her still' (p. 30). His knowledge of and respect for Avice precludes her acting as a receptacle for his own fantasies, with the unequal distribution of power inherent in such a relationship. The Well-Beloved soon takes up residence in the body of Marcia Bencomb who Pierston proposes to marry, but again on closer acquaintance with her he begins to 'behold the mournful departure of his Well-Beloved from the form he had lately cherished' (p. 36). This particularly occurs as a result of Marcia's decision to organise her own life: 'Pierston was as chilled by this resolve of hers as he was surprised at her independence in circumstances which usually make women the reverse' (p. 35).

When the first Avice dies Pierston's Well-Beloved transfers itself to her 'flown spirit' unencumbered by a challenging body, but when he sees her apparent reincarnation in the body of her daughter Ann, he is unable to resist this new 'Avice'

⁹³ Wotton, p. 140.

despite recognising that she is 'more matter-of-fact, unreflecting, less cultivated than her mother' (p. 63). The second Avice does not conform to Pierston's idealised image of woman, and he is confused by the fact that her outward appearance does not seem to match her 'individual character': 'he could not help seeing in her all that he knew of another, and veiling in her all that did not harmonise with his sense of metempsychosis' (p. 69). He resents the indifference that 'the self-contained girl' (p. 69) displays towards him: 'she was indifferent to, almost unconscious of, his propinquity. He was no more than a statue to her; she was a growing fire to him' (p.71). Pierston, who all his life has maintained the image of an idealised woman which he can reproduce in stone, is now confronted with a woman who sees him as a statue rather than a flesh and blood human being with emotions. This second Avice confesses to the surprised Pierston:

I get tired of my lovers as soon as I get to know them well. What I see in one young man for a while soon leaves him and goes into another yonder, and I follow, and then what I admire fades out of him and springs up somewhere else, and so I follow on, and never fix to one... I can't help it sir I assure you. Of course it is really, to *me*, the same one all through, only I can't catch him! (p. 78).

Pierston is naturally shocked to find 'this obscure and almost illiterate girl engaged in the pursuit of the impossible ideal, just as he had been himself doing for the last twenty years', and to find himself 'one of the corpses from which the ideal inhabitant had departed' (p. 79). At this point the power relationship between man and woman is dramatically reversed and Pierston feels himself to be exploited by a woman who he considers as his inferior, both socially and intellectually. Avice, continues to maintain control in her relationship with Pierston, and it is she who initiates the move to London, so that she can escape from the complications of her love life. In London Pierston finds it difficult to cope with her independence and aloofness, and her indignation at his overprotective behaviour. Avice's natural assertion of her

independence and freedom acquires an added significance from the fact that as well as being a working class woman she is also a native of an 'outlandish rock,' populated by 'barbarians' (p. 84), a 'last local stronghold of the pagan divinities, where pagan customs lingered yet' (p. 14). In refusing to be dominated by the male 'foreigner' Avice is upsetting the power structures inherent in all class, race and gender relationships. Many years later

when Pierston comes to visit Avice after the death of her husband, he realises that 'since his earlier manhood a change had come over his regard of womankind. Once the individual had been nothing more to him than the temporary abiding-place of the typical or ideal; now his heart showed its bent to be a growing fidelity to the specimen, with all her pathetic flaws of detail (p. 110).

To Avice he is now a 'well-adjusted contemporary, the pair of them observing the world with fairly level eyes' (p. 111). Pierston gradually ceases to view the individual woman merely as a representative of a type, occupying 'a single and uniform ideological position'.⁹⁴ This second Avice continues to exert control over Pierston by encouraging him to transfer his affections to her daughter, Avice the third. The 'curse' of the Well-Beloved, which Pierston thought had finally disappeared, now takes up residence in the body of this young Avice who is an accomplished, educated girl with 'intensely modern sympathies' (p. 123). As previously with her mother, Pierston resents this new Avice's independence and wishes to possess and control her. He believes that he has 'prescriptive rights in women of her blood' (p. 131), and once again sees her as a representative type of her family and of her island of origin. In *The Well-Beloved* power relations are seen to operate in the areas of race and class as well as gender. After being deserted by this third Avice, Pierston finally relinquishes his idea of the Well-Beloved, and in doing so gives up his desire to dominate and control. The change which had begun with his

⁹⁴ *Thomas Hardy and Women*, p. 7.

visit to Avice the second is now complete and the barrier between the real and the ideal has been demolished.

It may be misguided to presume that in *The Well-Beloved* Hardy is showing the collapse of patriarchal power, for when he ceases to exert power over women, Pierston transfers his attentions to the inhabitants of the Isle of Slingers. However, in progressing from Tess to Sue Bridehead and finally to the three Avices, as Hardy does in his last three novels, the unequal distribution of power inherent in gender relationships is exposed and ultimately resisted. Alec D'Urberville is the slave master who sees Tess purely as a sexual being who is to be dominated and abused. Angel Clare has an idealised image of Tess, as Pierston does of the three Avices; he sees her as an innocent child whom he can control, and rejects her when she does not conform to this image. Sue recognises and attempts to break the oppressive power structures which control her life, but discovers that the dominant ideology is too strong for her. Finally in *The Well-beloved*, Hardy does show women who choose to control their own lives, and free themselves from the idealised image imposed upon them by men.

The themes of idealisation and unequal class and gender relationships were also used by Hardy in his short story 'Barbara of the House of Grebe', which was published in 1891, a year before the first, serial version of *The Well-Beloved*. In this story the aristocratic Barbara is idealised by Lord Uplandtowers, but instead of submitting to his attentions Barbara elopes with the handsome but poor Edmond Willowses. Jeanette Shumaker believes that in this short story Hardy creates a tragedy which 'stems from dread of the lower class and of sexually assertive women of any class',⁹⁵ and it does seem that, like the second Avice, Barbara has reversed the usual

⁹⁵ Shumaker, p. 1.

sexual power relationship by forming an idealised attachment to the beautiful but unrefined Edmond. When Edmond is facially disfigured by a fire in Italy, Barbara can no longer accept him, for her attachment has been based on superficial characteristics rather than inner qualities. Shumaker interprets Barbara's reaction in the light of degenerationism,⁹⁶ which labelled certain marginalised groups as 'other,' possessing biologically determined characteristics which confined them to an inferior position on the edge of society: 'Barbara responds to the maimed Edmund as though she fears "catching" his ugliness like a cold - ugliness that symbolizes his low status that she has already "caught", to a certain extent, as his wife.'⁹⁷ She sees him as being 'metamorphosed to a specimen of another species', (p. 61), just as the poor and excluded were regarded as belonging to a separate, inferior species.

After Edmond's banishment and death, and Barbara's marriage to Uplandtowers, she receives the statue of Edmond which was made in Italy many years before, showing him 'in all his original beauty [...] a specimen of manhood almost perfect in every line and contour' (p.67). Barbara becomes obsessed with the statue, and like Jocelyn Pierston forms an erotic attachment to the idealised image. Uplandtowers sees her in the alcove in her bedroom where she hides the statue, 'standing with her arms clasped tightly round the neck of Edmond, and her mouth on his' (p. 69). Barbara has become the female equivalent of the aristocratic male collector of nude art or orientalist paintings described previously in this chapter. As Shumaker points out, 'nineteenth-century art nudes had provided a way for rich men to objectify and own lower-class women',⁹⁸ and of course women from other racial groups. In Hardy's story the genders have been transposed, and it is Barbara who takes on the masculine role by objectifying and owning the idealised Edmond, rather

⁹⁶ See previous discussion in this chapter, p. 181-3.

⁹⁷ Shumaker, p. 4.

⁹⁸ Shumaker, p. 7.

than having to accept the reality of his 'otherness' as a member of the working class. Uplandtowers cannot accept the usurping of his superior male position, and regains mastery over Barbara by disfiguring the statue and forcing her to look at it until she succumbs to his sexual demands. Shumaker refers to Judith Halberstam's ideas about Gothic fiction, which she thinks 'illuminate Hardy's story': 'Gothic [...] is a textual machine, a technology that transforms class struggle, hostility towards women and tensions arising out of the emergent ideology of racism into what looks like sexual or psychosexual battles between and within individuals,'⁹⁹ and 'monstrosity was a combination of the features of deviant race, class, and gender',¹⁰⁰ In this story Hardy uses some of the techniques of Gothic fiction to explore gender and class relations, an exploration which he was to continue in a somewhat more detailed, considered and less dramatic way in *The Well-Beloved*.

At the end of *The Well-Beloved* Pierston is seen devoting himself to carrying out various improvements on the island including 'a scheme for the closing of the old natural fountains [...] and supplying the townlet with water from pipes', and the demolition of some old Elizabethan cottages and their replacement with new ones 'with hollow walls, and full of ventilators' (p. 158). There is a strong reminder here, as Andrew Radford points out,¹⁰¹ of the 'obliterator of historic records' in *Jude the Obscure*, who pulled down 'many of the thatched and dormered dwelling-houses', and replaced the original hump-backed church with a 'new building of modern Gothic design' (p. 6). Pierston, the 'foreigner,' having renounced his idealisation of the female inhabitants of the island, now turns his attention to the island itself. His attempt to bring modern civilisation to this isolated community of 'curious and well-

⁹⁹ Judith Halberstam, 'Skin shows: Gothic horror and the technology of monsters' (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 33, in Shumaker, p. 13.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 4.

¹⁰¹ *Survivals of Time*, p. 215.

nigh distinct people, cherishing strange beliefs and singular customs', recalls the conflict present in much of Hardy's writing, and discussed in Chapter two, between tradition and progress. Radford points out that 'Pierston's renovations endanger a district crowned by landmarks of its Celtic and Roman forbears',¹⁰² an island which is 'the last local stronghold of the Pagan divinities, where Pagan customs lingered yet' (p. 14). Pierston, having lost his ability and desire to achieve mastery over women, can still use his wealth and metropolitan influence to initiate change, which he considers will be beneficial for the islanders. His 'closing of the old natural fountains' and building of cottages 'with hollow walls' suggests that these changes, although superficially beneficial, will destroy the 'traditional integrity',¹⁰³ of the community. Radford believes that Hardy is implying that Pierston's interference 'will be a deathstroke to the "happiness" of the inbred and curiously isolated Slingers population'.¹⁰⁴ The use of the word 'happiness' is a reference to Hardy's use of the word in his essay 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', when talking about the isolated Dorsetshire communities, he says 'it is among such communities as these that happiness will find her last refuge on earth'.¹⁰⁵ There is a reminder here of the Bax/Bernstein debates discussed in Chapter one, in which the Marxist, Belfort Bax argues in favour of the 'rudeness of primitive barbarism' over the 'squalor of modern civilisation'. Although this may seem an extreme view, Hardy is nevertheless pointing out that the interference of the 'outsider' in the life of the community may not necessarily be a good thing, just as imperialism's social mission to the colonics was not necessarily the laudable enterprise it was generally considered to be at the time.

¹⁰² *Survivals of Time*, p. 215.

¹⁰³ *Survivals of Time*, p. 213.

¹⁰⁴ *Survivals of Time*, p. 215.

¹⁰⁵ Thomas Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer' in Harold Orel, ed., *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings* (London: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1967), p. 169.

Have the boundaries been crossed?

Always the same metaphor: we follow it, it carries us, beneath all its figures, wherever discourse is organized. If we read or speak, the same thread or double braid is leading us throughout literature, philosophy, criticism, centuries of representation and reflection. Thought has always worked through opposition[...]through dual, hierarchical oppositions. Superior/Inferior. Myths, legends, books. Philosophical systems. Everywhere (where) ordering intervenes, where a law organizes what is thinkable by oppositions (dual, irreconcilable...).¹⁰⁶

I have used Hardy's writings to explore the extent to which race, class and gender can be considered as 'articulated categories'. I now consider how the ideas of certain theorists writing in the latter half of the twentieth century can be useful in revealing the way in which Hardy was attempting to expose the binary oppositions characteristic of a patriarchal value system. Jacques Derrida, writing in the 1960s, devised the term 'phallogocentric' to describe these oppositions, combining the words 'phallogocentric' and 'logocentric'. 'Phallogocentric' refers to a society in which the phallus or masculine component is 'the symbol of sure, self-identical truth and is not to be challenged',¹⁰⁷ and 'logocentric' refers to the belief that there is an ultimate guarantee of meaning within the discourse of Western philosophy. Derrida attempted to undermine or 'deconstruct' the binary oppositions inherent in such a belief, and as Terry Eagleton says, deconstruction was for Derrida 'an ultimately *political* practice, an attempt to dismantle the logic by which a particular system of thought, and behind that a whole system of political structures and social institutions, maintains its force'.¹⁰⁸ Imperialism is one such system which in the nineteenth century maintained its force by utilising the logic of phallogocentrism, and the insistence on a truth

¹⁰⁶ Hélène Cixous, "Sorties", in Susan Sellers, ed., *The Hélène Cixous Reader* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 37-38.

¹⁰⁷ Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory, An Introduction*, 1983 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 164. Hereafter cited as Eagleton.

¹⁰⁸ Eagleton, p. 128.

which did not countenance challenge meant that there was no room for ambiguity or alternative possibilities. Eagleton adds that ‘of all the binary oppositions which post-structuralism sought to undo, the hierarchical opposition between men and women was perhaps the most virulent’,¹⁰⁹ woman in this hierarchy being the ‘excluded opposite’ or ‘other’ of man. This position reinforces McClintock’s criticism of Edward Said (see p. 175 in this chapter) for his belief that race should ‘take precedence over class and gender’ in the colonial context, for as Eagleton makes clear ‘it is not just that women should have equality of power and status with men; it is a questioning of all such power and status’.¹¹⁰

In Hardy’s last three novels which I have discussed in this chapter he seems to be attempting to expose and then deconstruct the binary opposition between male and female. In *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* we are shown a woman who is destroyed by the system, and who seems to conform perfectly with Hélène Cixous’s ‘dual hierarchical oppositions’ described in *The Newly Born Woman*. In answer to the question ‘Where is she?’, Cixous draws up a list of oppositions such as ‘Activity/passivity; Culture/Nature; Head/Heart; Intelligible/Palpable; Logos/Pathos’,¹¹¹ corresponding to the underlying opposition Man/Woman, and Tess indeed is seen as a sensual ‘daughter of Nature,’ sensitive, childlike and ultimately tragic. In *Jude the Obscure*, Sue Bridehead attempts to resist the system and break down the binary opposition between male and female. She rejects social conformity and the traditional sexual relationship between men and women, but ultimately is forced to comply with the dominant patriarchal system, thus demonstrating the power of the existing ‘phallogocentric logic’. In *The Well-Beloved* the breakdown of

¹⁰⁹ Eagleton, p. 129.

¹¹⁰ Eagleton, p. 130.

¹¹¹ Hélène Cixous, “Sorties”, in Susan Sellers, ed., *The Hélène Cixous Reader* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 37.

this logic comes close to being achieved as Pierston moves from seeing woman as the ideal other to becoming Avice's 'well-adjusted contemporary [...] observing the world with fairly equal eyes' (p. 111). Avice the Second, as I have shown, does indeed reverse the power relationship between man and woman but at the end of the novel Pierston is still exerting patriarchal power over the inhabitants of the Isle of Slingers.

Hardy's ambiguity, his ability to see other possibilities, and his criticism of the existing social order, led to a powerful exploration of the patriarchal written law, in *Jude the Obscure*, a law which did not countenance challenge and which was the belief system at the heart of Empire. Ian Adam associates the written mode with 'the imposed order of English dominion [...] order, efficiency, enlightenment, thought, civilisation, and the modern', as opposed to the oral mode, associated with 'relaxation, intimacy, ethnographic colour, expression, superstition, and antiquity'.¹¹² The Church, the Law and the University were all institutions which upheld the written law, with active emissaries who spread this law throughout the Empire. These were also the institutions which maintained their power by excluding the outsider, as Jude finds when he attempts to gain entry to a Christminster college. Sue's antagonism to 'laws and ordinances' and her feeling of being 'outside all laws' is set against the frequent references to Mosaic law and the writings of the Bible. She rebukes Jude for quoting the Scriptures for these represent the patriarchal law of authority and control rather than individual freedom. She offers to make Jude a 'new New Testament,' saying 'I altered my old one by cutting up all the Epistles and Gospels into separate *brochures*, and re-arranging them in chronological order as written [...] then I had the volume rebound' (p. 157). This act of rebellion against the

¹¹² Ian Adam, 'Oral/Literate/Transcendent: The Politics of Language Modes in *Kim*' [1997] in Peter Childs, ed., *Post-Colonial Theory and English Literature: A Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 265.

patriarchal written law, symbolises Sue's efforts to control her own life through her own actions, rather than conform to a system which restricts her individual freedom.

When Jude and Sue make their second attempt at getting married, the influence of the patriarchal law is much in evidence: 'Law-books in musty calf covered one wall, and elsewhere were Post-Office Directories, and other books of reference. Papers in packets tied with red tape were pigeon-holed around' (p. 298). It is significant that when Jude starts to reject the Church, his first act is to make a bonfire of 'all the theological and ethical works that he possessed' (p. 228), for these represented a religion 'in which sexual love was regarded as at its best a frailty, and at its worst damnation' (p. 227). When Jude meets Sue for the last time at Marygreen, he says 'we are acting by the letter; and "the letter killeth"' (p. 410). Hardy uses the same words from St. Paul's epistle to the Corinthians as the epigraph to the novel, and by so doing expresses his feelings about all the institutions in late Victorian society which were controlled by a written patriarchal law, just as in his letter to Millicent Fawcett he expresses his desire 'to break up the present pernicious conventions in respect of manners, customs, religion...' (CL, III, 238).

The French psychoanalyst, Jacques Lacan, writing, like Derrida, in the middle of the twentieth century, built on Freud's theories of development to examine the importance of language in a patriarchal society. He described the condition in the young pre-Oedipal child before language develops as the 'imaginary' stage, in which there is no separation between the individual and the surrounding world, or in the words of Eagleton, 'a condition [...] in which what 'self' we have seems to pass into objects and objects into it, in a ceaseless closed exchange.'¹¹³ This blurring of self and object is part of Lacan's 'mirror stage' of development, in which the child has no

¹¹³ Eagleton, p. 142.

sense of a separate self when regarding its image in a mirror. Any concept of the Other as separate from the self cannot exist at this stage, for the self is part of the Other, or as Malcolm Bowie says: 'It is the dimension of experience in which the individual seeks not simply to placate the Other but to dissolve his otherness by becoming his counterpart.'¹¹⁴

Lacan proposed that with the acquisition of language, a new stage, referred to as the 'symbolic order' replaces the 'imaginary'. This transition is linked with the Oedipal crisis and involves loss of unity with the mother and the acceptance of the Law of the father. The symbolic order represents received cultural values and patriarchal law, and its acquisition necessarily involves repression of the imaginary, which if retained after this stage is regarded as indicating a neurotic or abnormal personality.

In *Tess* we see a character who remains very close to the Imaginary stage. On many occasions she is shown as being as one with the landscape through which she walks, 'a figure which is part of the landscape' (p. 355), her body even acquiring the colour and texture of her surroundings:

On these lonely hills and dales her quiescent glide was of a piece with the element she moved in. Her flexuous and stealthy figure became an integral part of the scene. At times her whimsical fancy would intensify natural processes around her till they seemed a part of her own story. Rather they became a part of it; for the world is only a psychological phenomenon, and what they seemed they were (p. 134).

Tess 'had been made to break an accepted social law, but no law known to the environment in which she fancied herself such an anomaly' (p. 135). She cannot be subject to man-made laws for she has not become part of the symbolic patriarchal order.

¹¹⁴ Malcolm Bowie, *Lacan* (London: Fontana Press, 1991), p. 92.

Sue Bridehead also, as has been seen, tries to rebel against the Symbolic order. When she stays with Jude in the shepherd's cottage, she says: 'I rather like this. Outside all laws except gravitation and germination [...] I like reading and all that, but I crave to get back to the life of my infancy, and its freedom' (p. 143). Sue longs to return to what Lacan would interpret as the freedom of the pre-Oedipal stage, away from the laws and restrictions of a patriarchal society.

The feminist theorist, Julia Kristeva was much influenced by Lacan's work on the imaginary and symbolic orders, but substituted the term semiotic for Lacan's imaginary and saw this as representing the pre-Oedipal stage when language is either undeveloped or disorganised. As with Lacan, Kristeva's symbolic represents authority, order and control, whereas her semiotic is not logical and ordered but looser and more random, and if not repressed can persist after the transition to the symbolic order is made. Kristeva maintains that as the semiotic originates in the pre-Oedipal period it does not recognise gender distinctions, and she argues that a strengthening of the semiotic aspect will therefore lead to a weakening of traditional gender divisions. Transition to the post-Oedipal stage of development involves accepting the language of the symbolic, patriarchal system, and if this transition is not completed and aspects of the semiotic are retained, then the individual will remain marginal to the symbolic order and to the society which it represents. The semiotic, being outside of gender, does not allow the hierarchical opposition of male/female, activity/passivity, or culture/nature, and Sue's 'strange ways and curious unconsciousness of gender' (p. 154) seem related to this bisexual, pre-Oedipal stage. Throughout the novel Sue demonstrates her opposition to Jude's acceptance of the symbolic, patriarchal law, and his devotion to the language of Church and University. Sue has no respect for the University, believing it to be 'an

ignorant place,' with no understanding of a man like Jude who has 'a passion for learning, but no money, or opportunities, or friends' (p. 156). By the end of the novel, of course, Sue has been forced by circumstance to accept Lacan's 'Law of the Father', exclaiming 'We must conform [...] we must submit. There is no choice' (p. 361), while Jude, under Sue's influence has come to reject the same symbolic law.

Sue's struggle against the laws of society result in her rejection by that society, and her taking on the role of the Other. George Wotton believes that all women 'live their subjection in ideology through the roles which have been assigned to them as the Other',¹¹⁵ but Sue at least does recognise and opposes this dominant ideology. Homi Bhabha in his essay on 'colonial mimicry', describes this 'strategy of colonial power' as being 'the desire for a reformed, recognisable Other', the colonial subject living with 'roles which have been assigned to them' in a similar way to women.¹¹⁶ Bhabha notes that however Anglicised an Indian subject of the Empire became he was definitely not regarded as English, and Benedict Anderson agrees that the Indian civil servant 'was always barred from the uppermost peaks of the Raj' and 'from movement outside its perimeter'.¹¹⁷ Restriction and control was exerted over the colonial subject as it was over women within Britain.

In discussing the theory of 'performativity' in her book *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler describes how verbal utterances result in the development of a concept of gender; that 'the anticipation of an authoritative disclosure of meaning is the means by which that authority is attributed and installed: the anticipation conjures its object'.¹¹⁸ In other words gender is not an 'internal essence' but is manufactured as a result of a continuous series of authoritative acts of discourse which are expected and

¹¹⁵ Wotton, p. 127.

¹¹⁶ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994), p. 122.

¹¹⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 93.

¹¹⁸ *Gender Trouble*, p. xv.

which become internalised. Butler relates her work on gender to Homi Bhabha's ideas of colonial mimicry, and questions whether the theory of performativity 'can be transposed onto matters of race' and 'whether race is constructed in the same way as gender'.¹¹⁹ She suggests that:

Not only the appropriation of the colonial "voice" by the colonised, but the split condition of identification are crucial to a notion of performativity that emphasises the way minority identities are produced and riven at the same time under conditions of domination.¹²⁰

Butler believes that 'race and gender ought not to be treated as simple analogies' but that they 'find their most powerful articulation through one another'.¹²¹ As part of Spivak's 'vast two-handed engine,' neither race nor gender can be regarded as exclusive categories of analysis.

In equating Lacan's and Kristeva's symbolic order with the dominant patriarchal system normally associated with Western Imperialism, and the imaginary or semiotic with a pre-Oedipal, non-gendered system, there is a danger, in the colonial context, of using the hierarchical, binary system to also associate the Active/Male/Dominant principle with the imperial power, and the Passive/Female/Subordinate with the colonised. Some critics, including Sara Suleri, believe that this interpretation results in a 'feminisation of the colonial'. She criticises the 'often unscrupulous conflation of the issues of race, class and gender' in current discourse, perpetuating the 'equation between a colonised landscape and the female body'. Such 'opposing methodology' she suggests, represents 'an alteritist fallacy that causes considerable theoretical damage to both contemporary feminist and postcolonial discourses'.¹²² It is true, as Robert Young points out, that in the nineteenth-century context the ascription of gender difference to racial groups

¹¹⁹ *Gender Trouble*, pp. xvi-ii.

¹²⁰ *Gender Trouble*, p. 206.

¹²¹ *Gender Trouble*, pp. xvi-ii.

¹²² *Rhetoric of English India*, p. 16.

had the effect of 'confirming and legitimising the racial hierarchy as a form of analogous natural law, neatly transferring to race all the cultural values that patriarchy had already foisted upon gender'.¹²³ In this hierarchical scale the 'civilised' white European male is at the top, with women, children and members of other ethnic groups arranged in order downwards according to their degree of 'civilisation'.

In this chapter, I have attempted to demonstrate how race and gender cannot be considered as unrelated categories within the context of a late Victorian, patriarchal society, and would argue that the concept of alterity, rather than being a fallacy, serves as a useful tool in feminist and postcolonial discourse. I have demonstrated how the writings of feminists like Hélène Cixous emphasise the necessity for breaking patriarchal, binary oppositions, and that it is important to make a distinction between the terms 'feminine' and 'female' in this respect. When Suleri talks about the 'feminisation of the colonised' it seems that there is a danger of equating feminisation with the imposition of supposedly 'female' characteristics. If Lacan's 'imaginary' or Kristeva's 'semiotic' conditions are recognised as being distinct from the symbolic order, associated with the patriarchal system of received cultural values, then these pre-symbolic conditions are, as described by Kristeva, without gender, and 'the opposition between feminine and masculine does not exist in pre-Oedipality'.¹²⁴ Retention of the semiotic, as I have described, does result in marginality, as the individual remains outside the patriarchal, symbolic system, but this marginality is associated with any group outside the dominant system, whether it be due to race, class or gender. Suleri is right when she says that 'a simple correlation of gender with coloniser and colonised, can lead only to interpretive

¹²³ Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995), p. 60. Hereafter cited as *Colonial Desire*.

¹²⁴ Toril Moi, *Sexual/Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory* (London: Routledge, 1985), p. 165.

intransigence',¹²⁵ but if the term 'feminine' is removed from gender associations, and linked with the semiotic, then the colonised subject who does not accept the received cultural values of the dominant group will share their marginality with all groups who exist outside the centre of power.

Robert Young discusses at some length the work of Gobineau, author of the *Essay on the Inequality of Races* (1853-5), and, although basically a racial supremacist, Gobineau's somewhat ambivalent position on the characteristics of racial groups can be useful in the present discussion. Gobineau believed in 'the Romantic idea that civilisation brings about a material progress at the expense of unchanging "natural" values of cultural and spiritual life', material progress consequently being associated with 'the male nations' and cultural life with 'the feminised black races'.¹²⁶ A parallel may be drawn here with Hardy's view, discussed in 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', that material progress is not necessarily always 'a good thing', particularly when the aim of those imposing progress is to incorporate marginal groups into the dominant, patriarchal system. In the colonial context these groups would be the inhabitants of the colonised countries, whereas in Hardy's writings they are the rural working classes. So-called 'feminisation' of the colonised is only unacceptable if the symbolic order of authority and control is accepted as the norm, for if the hierarchical, binary system is broken down then retention of the semiotic will no longer result in marginalisation. If the barrier between margin and centre is to be breached, then in the words of Suleri, it will be necessary 'to break down the fixity of the dividing lines between domination and subordination'.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ *Rhetoric of English India*, p. 15.

¹²⁶ *Colonial Desire*, p. 112.

¹²⁷ *Rhetoric of English India*, p. 15.

In his late novels particularly, Hardy explores the nature of these dividing lines and the possibility of crossing them. In *Jude the Obscure* he uses both Jude and Sue to demonstrate the power at the centre and the exclusion of those on the periphery. On several occasions he uses the analogy of a wall separating the inhabitants of the Christminster colleges from those on the outside: life inside the colleges 'was so far removed from that of the people in the lane as if it had been on the opposite sides of the globe; yet only a thickness of wall divided them' (p. 348). I noted in Chapter one (p. 33) that the members of the university, isolated behind their college walls, were the same people who would go out to serve in the Empire, and remain as isolated from the inhabitants of the countries which they occupied as they had been from those at home whose class or gender did not match their own. When Jude walks through Christminster in his working clothes he realises that he is totally invisible to the undergraduates: 'in passing him they did not even see him or hear him, rather saw through him as through a pane of glass at their familiars beyond' (p. 87). Edward Said makes a similar observation regarding Orientals when he says that 'Orientals were rarely seen or looked at; they were seen through, analysed not as citizens, or even people, but as problems to be solved or confined.'¹²⁸ Hardy consistently challenges the power structures which result in the construction of barriers between the centre and the margins, and in his writings explores ways in which 'the dividing lines between domination and subordination' may become blurred.

¹²⁸ *Orientalism*, p. 207.

Conclusion

The author of *Far from the Madding Crowd* does not exactly live in a village as many of the admirers of this book may suppose. But to a Londoner's eye the old-fashioned town, which the novelist has made widely known under the name of Casterbridge, is little more than an overgrown village, and the house Mr Hardy has built for himself is on the verge of the open country, some distance beyond the last Dorchester lamp post. Of this circumstance the representative of the *Saturday Journal* would have become painfully aware but for the trusty guidance of a young native, who, in reply to an inquiry for Max Gate, promptly volunteered to conduct him thither. As far as could be seen in the darkness the house was of modest dimensions with a pretty porch and large gardens.¹

Come near, come near, come near – Ah, leave me still
A little space for the rose-breath to fill!
Lest I no more hear common things that crave;
The weak worm hiding down in its small cave,
The field-mouse running by me in the grass,
And heavy mortal hopes that toil and pass;
But seek alone to hear the strange things said
By God to the bright hearts of those long dead,
And learn to chaunt a tongue men do not know.
Come near; I would, before my time to go,
Sing of old Eire and the ancient ways:
Red Rose, proud Rose, sad Rose of all my days. W.B.Yeats.²

In the preceding pages a particular image of the writer Thomas Hardy has appeared: an anti-establishment figure, critical of gender and class oppression, decidedly anti-war and with progressive ideas on marriage and the family. This description would not have been recognised by most readers of Hardy during his lifetime or by his many admirers during the greater part of the twentieth century. Even today, as I have found when attempting to explain my area of research to non-academic acquaintances, there is a strong perception that Hardy's work is characterised by:

descriptions of peasant life and his Shakespearian rustic characters; his creation of the myth of 'Wessex'; his description and deployment of the

¹ From 'Representative Men at Home: Mr Thomas Hardy at Max Gate, Dorchester' (Cassell's *Saturday Journal*, 10, 25 June 1892, 944-6), in Martin Ray, ed., *Thomas Hardy Remembered* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), p. 17.

² Edward Larrissy, ed., *W.B. Yeats: The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 13.

natural environment; his nostalgia for a passing rural world; his poetic style; his 'Greek' conception of tragedy, tragic characters, and Fate.³

Peter Widdowson's list forms part of his attempt to show how "Thomas Hardy" has been produced and reproduced in history in a certain guise and for certain purposes by the dominant cultural apparatuses'.⁴ Widdowson's thesis is that Hardy has been critically constructed to become part of the national cultural heritage, and that meanings and values have become attached to his works which are not necessarily contained within them. Widdowson considers that in the years leading up to the First World War:

there is an attempt in England to establish a cohesive national consciousness in a period deeply riven by domestic and international tensions. There is a perceived need for a national culture to oppose social anarchy. Crucial to this is a literary culture in which there is a complex relationship between forms of romanticism and patriotism, and the formation of a pastoral myth of rural England – often recalling a past more glorious heritage – which is the true 'essential England' of national identity.⁵

The categorisation and misinterpretation of Hardy's work to serve the needs of a society eager to maintain its power and dominance places 'Hardy' in a similar position to Said's 'Oriental', both being produced by a process of authoritative discourse. Said considers that Orientalism constructed the Orient by 'making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it'.⁶ In a similar way Hardy was constructed as a representative of 'Englishness' and all aspects of his work which did not comply with the 'myth of rural England' were considered to be an aberration, examples of 'bad' writing, and therefore, as I discuss later, rejected by the critics. In looking for signs of Empire in Hardy's writings, it is important to understand that his works actually formed part of English cultural imperialism.

³ Peter Widdowson, *Hardy in History: A Study in Literary Sociology* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 16. Hereafter cited as *Hardy in History*.

⁴ *Hardy in History*, p. 6.

⁵ *Hardy in History*, p. 61.

⁶ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 1978 (London: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 3. Hereafter cited as *Orientalism*.

Widdowson notes that Hardy's novels were, and still are, very popular in India, where 'they were originally deployed as "useful tools for extending the imperialist ideology"'.⁷

In the previous chapters I have gone some way towards achieving my aim of 'identifying empire's fingerprints' in the works of Thomas Hardy, but it seems essential at this point to consider Hardy himself in the context of imperialism; as a writer, who because of his geographical origin and class background occupied a position on the margin, outside the 'imperial centre'. That Hardy was not a supporter of the Imperial project may be deduced from his personal writings and letters, particularly the letters he wrote to Florence Henniker during the Boer War between 1899 and 1902, and referred to in Chapter one. Phrases such as 'this Imperial idea is, I fear, leading us into strange waters',⁸ and referring to his Boer War poems: 'I am happy to say that not a single one is Jingo or Imperial – a fatal defect according to the judgement of the British majority at present.'⁹ Henry Woodd Nevinson records Hardy saying of Kipling: 'he would have been a very great writer if the Imperialists had not got hold of him.'¹⁰

In one of his letters to Florence Henniker Hardy seems to anticipate Widdowson's view that he was being manipulated by the critics to conform with the ideological discourse they thought his writing should convey. He says:

I am puzzled what to do with some poems, written at various dates, a few lately, some long ago. If I print them I know exactly what will be said about them: 'You hold opinions which we don't hold: therefore shut up.' Not that there are any opinions in the verses; but English reviewers go behind the book

⁷ *Hardy in History*, p. 5. This quote is from the thesis of an ex-PhD student at Sussex University, Asha Kanwar.

⁸ Thomas Hardy, *One Rare Fair Woman: Thomas Hardy's letters to Florence Henniker 1893-1922*, ed. Evelyn Hardy and F.B. Pinion (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1972), p. 89.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 99.

¹⁰ Henry Woodd Nevinson, quoted in James Gibson, ed., *Thomas Hardy: Interviews and Recollections* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999), p. 79. Nevinson, the essayist and journalist visited Hardy at Max Gate in 1906. Hereafter cited as Nevinson.

and review the man. I am of opinion that the present condition of the English novel is due to the paralysing effect of English criticism upon those who would have developed it.¹¹

I have shown that Hardy's works did in fact pose a challenge to established society, questioning conventional morality and Christianity, blurring the dividing line between concepts of the 'primitive' and 'civilised', exposing the power structures responsible for class and gender inequalities and scrutinizing the motives of empire makers throughout history, including the Romans, Napoleon and the British Imperialists. I have also shown how close analysis of Hardy's novels, poems and personal writings show him to be an advocate for all those suffering oppression under a 'social system of organised domination'¹² which characterised English society at the end of the nineteenth century and was replicated in the colonised countries of the Empire.

It is perhaps surprising how frequently the word 'subversive' is used by those writing about Hardy. Tim Dolin talks of 'Hardy's subversiveness',¹³ Penny Boumelha suggests that he offers a 'subversive challenge to orthodox moral values',¹⁴ Widdowson reveals the 'potentially subversive nature of his fiction',¹⁵ and Patricia Ingham considers that Hardy held 'beliefs subversive of the whole of established society'.¹⁶ Widdowson's contention that this challenging of the established system is mainly to be found in the so-called 'minor' novels and in *Jude*, which accounts for their unpopularity with the critics, is not borne out by the evidence; although it is true that it is necessary to search a little deeper for it in the

¹¹ Nevinson, p. 97.

¹² Daniel Bivona, *Desire and Contradiction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 95. Hereafter cited as *Desire and Contradiction*.

¹³ Tim Dolin, Introduction to Thomas Hardy, *The Hand of Ethelberta*, [1876] (London: Penguin Books, 1997), p. xxix. Hereafter cited as Dolin.

¹⁴ Penny Boumelha, *Thomas Hardy and Women: Sexual Ideology and Narrative Form* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 4.

¹⁵ *Hardy in History*, p. 38.

¹⁶ Patricia Ingham, Introduction to Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. xxii.

six 'major' 'Wessex' novels on which Hardy's fame as a novelist mainly rests, and which he himself categorised as 'novels of character and environment'.¹⁷ These novels, with the exception of *Jude the Obscure*, had a generally positive reception from the critics, and it is significant that they could all, on a fairly superficial reading, be seen as conforming to the 'pastoral myth of rural England'. An important consequence of the popularity of these works is that Hardy himself became categorised and misinterpreted as a writer of rural affairs, producing novels which conformed to the idea of 'Englishness', and contributing to cultural imperialism. The writer himself became a 'rural' writer, or indeed a colonised subject, situated outside the metropolis, and therefore in a colonial sense somewhat inferior. The condescending comments of Henry James illustrate this attitude:

The good little Thomas Hardy has scored a great success with *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, which is chock-full of faults and falsity and yet has a singular beauty and charm [...] There are indeed some pretty smells and sights and sounds. But you have better ones in Polynesia...¹⁸

It is obvious that a certain paradox exists here, for while the establishment was using Hardy's works to convey an image, both at home and in the Empire, of a strong, enduring England with a long, historic tradition, they were in the process of destroying that tradition in ways described by Hardy in his essay 'The Dorsetshire Labourer'. Hardy was committed to his role as 'recorder of life in Wessex that was disappearing', and it is true that he understood the 'emotional and commercial potential' of this for the sale of his works abroad.¹⁹ However, as I show later, he did not wish to be categorised simply as a writer of rural affairs and had much to say

¹⁷ Thomas Hardy, 'General Preface to the Novels and Poems' (Wessex Edition, I, 1912), in Harold Orel, ed., *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings* (London: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1967), p. 44.

¹⁸ Henry James, *The Critical Muse: Selected Literary Criticism*, ed., Roger Gard (London: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 305.

¹⁹ Sara Haslam, 'Wessex, Literary Pilgrims and Thomas Hardy' in Nicola Watson, ed., *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (London: Palgrave, 2009), p. 165.

about 'the contrasting world of London'.²⁰ Bivona considers that Hardy depicts 'a society committed to colonising its rural lower classes',²¹ and Eagleton sees Marygreen as being part of 'a plundered landscape denuded of its historical tradition [...] by the abstract imperatives of profit and utility'.²² 'Thomas Hardy' becomes part of these colonised rural areas, an outsider who can never quite be accepted as part of the establishment. Homi Bhabha talks of 'the productive ambivalence of the object of colonial discourse – that "otherness" which is at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity'.²³ Hardy is stereotyped as a rural writer and cannot escape this stereotype, for any writing which does not conform is disregarded or denigrated. He becomes part of the process of 'colonial mimicry', which Bhabha defines as 'the desire for a reformed, recognisable Other', who will serve the needs of the coloniser but will never be totally accepted, or in Bhabha's words 'a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite'.²⁴ Hardy's ambiguous position in British society meant that he was always something of an outsider, 'almost the same, but not quite'.

When reading contemporary records of those who had met Hardy, it is striking how frequently he is referred to as being an outsider, on the edge of London society. The young Ford Madox Ford recalls that he was 'keenly aware of a Mr Hardy who was a kind, small man, with a thin beard, in the background of London tea parties',²⁵ and Joshua Harris describes him at a ceremony in Saint Paul's Cathedral as standing 'among the rest, unnoted, unregarded; shouldered aside and eclipsed by the rank and

²⁰ Thomas Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', in Harold Orel, ed., *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings* (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd., 1967), p. 169.

²¹ *Desire and Contradiction*, p. 93.

²² Terry Eagleton, 'Introduction', Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure*, 1896 (London: Macmillan, 1974), pp. 14-15.

²³ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994), p. 96. Hereafter cited as *Location of Culture*.

²⁴ *Location of Culture*, p. 122.

²⁵ Ford Madox Ford, quoted in James Gibson, ed., *Thomas Hardy: Interviews and Recollections* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999), p. 29.

file, coming and going quietly'.²⁶ Constance Smedley notes of the writer, that 'although he and his wife come up to town for a few weeks of each London season, the public does not realise his presence, and his name is seen in few reports of literary and artistic functions'.²⁷

In referring to Hardy, the epithet 'peasant' is frequently used by commentators. W.M.Parker declares that 'Thomas Hardy had obvious traits of the peasant in him' and 'as evidence of his peasant origin, I may say that when I visited Hardy at Max Gate in 1921 I certainly detected a flavour of personal intonation, if not accent, in his speech'.²⁸ St John Ervine admits that 'it is the fashion now to talk and write of him as a peasant',²⁹ and George Gissing writes after visiting Hardy at Max Gate: 'Born a peasant, he yet retains much of the peasant's views of life.'³⁰ Recording the same visit in his diary Gissing writes: 'Thomas is of course vastly the intellectual inferior of Meredith. I perceive that he has a good deal of coarseness in his nature – the coarseness explained by humble origin. He did an odd thing at breakfast – jumped up and killed a wasp with the flat of a table-knife.'³¹ Gissing's disparaging comments about Hardy which include the observation 'he evidently does not read very much', either indicate a remarkable lack of insight or show that even a fellow writer could be influenced by the stereotypical view of Hardy as a rural outsider. Gissing, whose novels were mainly concerned with lower class urban life, was very much a London

²⁶ Joshua Harris, 'That Grey Little Man?' in 'Writers of Today. X. – Thomas Hardy', (T.P.'s Weekly, 12, 10 April 1908, 471), in Martin Ray, ed., *Thomas Hardy Remembered* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), pp. 142-3. Hereafter cited as *Thomas Hardy Remembered*.

²⁷ Constance Smedley, 'Hardy Lived Quite Out of Himself' in 'Some Story-Book People. V. - Thomas Hardy', (T.P.'s Weekly, 16, 7 January 1910, 18), in *Thomas Hardy Remembered*, p. 145.

²⁸ W.M.Parker, 'Hardy the Peasant' in 'Portrait of Thomas Hardy' (Listener, 54, 22 September 1955, 473), in *Thomas Hardy Remembered*, p. 230.

²⁹ St John Ervine, 'Nobody Less a Peasant' in 'Portrait of Thomas Hardy', (Listener, 54, 8 September 1955, 371-2), in *Thomas Hardy Remembered*, p. 228.

³⁰ George Gissing, in Arthur C. Young, ed., 'The Letters of George Gissing to Eduard Bertz 1887-1903' (London: Constable, 1961), in *Thomas Hardy Remembered*, p. 102.

³¹ George Gissing in Pierre Coustillas, ed., 'London and the Life of Literature in Late Victorian England: The Diary of George Gissing, Novelist' (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester, 1978), in *Thomas Hardy Remembered*, p. 100.

based writer and his view of Hardy as a 'peasant' can only arise from an association of rural life with coarseness, ignorance and 'uncivilised' behaviour.

The journalist from 'Cassell's Saturday Journal' who visited Hardy at Max Gate in 1892, and whose words are quoted at the beginning of this Conclusion, obviously shared this view of Hardy as rural outsider, and it is useful to analyse this extract in closer detail. The fact that Hardy is referred to as the author of *Far from the Madding Crowd* indicates the popularity of this novel of 'rural affairs' which was published in 1874, eighteen years prior to the journalist's visit. Hardy had written eight novels in the intervening period, the latest to be published being *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* in 1891. The writer from London condescendingly refers to Dorchester as an 'old-fashioned town' which is 'little more than an overgrown village'. He stresses that Mr Hardy has built the house for himself thereby drawing attention to the fact that Hardy's relatives are manual labourers, and also that it is 'on the verge of the open country', in other words away from any possible 'civilising' influence. Indeed the writer would have been unable to find this isolated house if he had not been helped by 'a young native'. The house is hard to see 'in the darkness', presumably the darkness of ignorance rather than enlightenment, but it does have a 'pretty porch and large gardens'.

Hardy resented the implication that he was only qualified to write about rural affairs; he had lived in London for some years and was extremely familiar with the city, but as he mentions in *The Life*, this experience was ignored by his reviewers 'who, if he only touched on London in his pages, promptly reminded him not to write of a place he was unacquainted with, but to get back to his sheepfolds'.³² Sara Haslam provides further evidence for this when she refers to J.M.Barrie's opinion

³² *Life*, p. 62.

that Hardy ‘ “loses himself” when he “wanders beyond Wessex”, and [...] that when he takes for his subjects London society and professional life “ he fails absolutely”’.³³ After demands from his publisher and the public for more novels like *Far from the Madding Crowd*, Hardy notes in *The Life* that ‘he had not the slightest intention of writing forever about sheep farming, as the reading public was apparently expecting him to do’.³⁴ His defiant response was to produce *The Hand of Ethelberta* which is the only novel set mainly in London and which deliberately sets out to question class and gender stereotypes. Not surprisingly this novel was a failure with reviewers and the reading public, and still tends to be ignored. Edward Neill proposes that this may result from an ‘excess of cleverness’ which would not conform to the ‘nostalgic, faintly anti-intellectual “image” given to Hardy by traditional critics’.³⁵ Tim Dolin makes the point in his introduction to the novel that it is ‘a rather alarming alternative to the received idea of “Thomas Hardy”’.³⁶ The ‘lower orders’ in this novel are far removed from the picturesque, rural rustics beloved by many readers of Hardy, Ethelberta’s brother Sol in particular being a revolutionary who despises the aristocracy, referring to them as ‘the useless lumber of our nation that’ll be the first to burn if there comes a flare’.³⁷ Widdowson, Dolin and Neill all consider that *Ethelberta* is in fact ‘disguised autobiography’, Hardy’s ‘most open and accurate account of himself and his real social relations presented as a fiction in which his heroine does the same’.³⁸ Both make their way in society ‘by the profession of writing and disguising their class background’,³⁹ their relatives

³³ Sara Haslam, ‘Wessex, Literary Pilgrims and Thomas Hardy’ in Nicola Watson, ed., *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (London: Palgrave, 2009), p. 165.

³⁴ *Life*, p. 102.

³⁵ Edward Neill, *The Secret Life of Thomas Hardy* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), p. 31.

³⁶ Dolin, p. xx.

³⁷ Thomas Hardy, *The Hand of Ethelberta* [1876] (London: Penguin Books, 1997), p. 376.

³⁸ *Hardy in History*, p. 158-9.

³⁹ *Hardy in History*, p. 159.

have similar occupations and social status, and both plan to write an epic poem but are obliged to write fiction in order to make a living. The novel, like Hardy's first, unpublished work *The Poor Man and the Lady*, is critical of life in 'high society', and both works were considered too 'socialist'⁴⁰ to be accepted by the reading public. Dolin comments on the strain Ethelberta experiences in 'maintaining the illusion of her high-society identity',⁴¹ and notes that 'like her creator, she seems far too easily to belong, to be at home, in company she clearly detests'.⁴² Both Hardy and his character have split identities, simultaneously conforming with the acceptable image required by the colonial power if they are to achieve success, and yet resenting that power for the conformity which it imposes and for the fact that they will always be outsiders, 'almost the same, but not quite'.

Hardy certainly had many acquaintances amongst the landed gentry or 'gentlemanly capitalists', and mixed socially with them during his frequent visits to London. Two of these, both referred to as 'his friend' in *The Life*,⁴³ were Lord Carnarvon and George, later Lord Curzon. These men were part of the aristocratic, powerful élite which ruled Britain and the Empire in the century following the defeat of Napoleon. They were members of landed families, and educated at Eton and Oxford where they would have been instilled with ideas of Imperialism as described in the Introduction. Both were closely connected with the colonies; Carnarvon as Secretary of State for the Colonies and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Curzon as Viceroy of India between 1899 and 1905. Curzon was the epitome of the 'Orientalist' who had travelled widely in and written about the East and, as Edward

⁴⁰ *Life*, p. 108.

⁴¹ Dolin, p. xxxiv.

⁴² Dolin, p. xxvii.

⁴³ *Life*, pp. 227, 262.

Said points out, was the founder of 'Oriental Studies'.⁴⁴ He ruled over India during the Indian famine of 1899-1900, and did little to alleviate its effects. That Hardy mixed with these people and acknowledged them as his friends has perplexed all those who have written about him, and many different explanations have been put forward. It is important to remember that Hardy depended for his livelihood on the sale of his novels, and to be seen to be accepted by these influential people would certainly have increased his standing in the eyes of the reading public. He was obviously gratified that his work was recognised, but, as I have previously discussed, this was not always the work for which he would have chosen to be admired. There are indications that he was not at ease in this company and, as has already been noted, those who observed him in 'society' frequently refer to him as an outsider, a quiet observer on the margin of proceedings. A hint of his true feelings may be gathered from the following comment:

Consider the evenings at Lord Carnarvon's, and the intensely average conversation on politics held there by average men who two or three weeks later were members of the Cabinet. A row of shopkeepers in Oxford Street taken just as they came would conduct the affairs of the nation as ably as these.⁴⁵

Michael Millgate notes that 'the poor opinion that Hardy formed of such figures cannot have been unrelated to his own Liberal sympathies', and that such comments show that below the surface he retained 'the strong note of social criticism'⁴⁶ which he had shown when writing *The Poor Man and the Lady* and later *The Hand of Ethelberta*. It seems that the most likely explanation for Hardy's fondness for London society was the opportunity it gave him, at a time when his relationship with Emma was deteriorating, to meet with a number of attractive and

⁴⁴ *Orientalism*, p. 214.

⁴⁵ *Life*, p. 172.

⁴⁶ Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: A Biography Revisited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 247.

intelligent women who flattered and admired him. One of these was Florence Henniker, with whom Hardy had a long correspondence and to whom he addressed many of his comments on war and Empire, despite the fact that her husband served as an army officer and commanded a Battalion in the Boer War.

Hardy's marginality, and his position as someone writing from outside the metropolis, invites a comparison with those Irish poets and writers who were writing from a country which, at the time, was being colonised by the British. Fran Brearton, in discussing the reception of Hardy's poetry in England and Ireland highlights the problem critics experienced in fitting his work into a particular category.⁴⁷ T.S.Eliot referred to Hardy as being 'uncurbed by any institutional attachment or by submission to any objective belief',⁴⁸ and F.R.Leavis refers to his 'oddity and idiosyncrasy', marginalising him as 'a naive poet of simple attitudes and outlook'.⁴⁹ Leavis's criticism that Hardy 'ignores convention' is taken up by Tom Paulin who suggests that Hardy's oddity and unconventionality as seen by Leavis, is a sign that he has departed from the tradition of English poetry represented by 'Milton, Pope, Wordsworth, Keats, Tennyson, Eliot', and represents a new, anti-Establishment tradition with roots 'in the people rather than in the court'.⁵⁰ Paulin refers to Gerard Manley Hopkins's comparison of Tennyson's 'predictable' style with a poetry of 'inspiration' which is 'often abrupt, short-lived, intense' and takes the reader 'by surprise'.⁵¹ Paulin describes this anti-Tennyson tradition as 'Gothic', based on

⁴⁷ References to Dr Fran Brearton refer to a lecture given by her at the Thomas Hardy Conference in Dorchester in 2008 which is unpublished. All references are taken from notes made by myself at the conference and from the Conference Report by David Jones in *The Hardy Society Journal*, Vol.4 No.3, Autumn 2008, 38-40.

⁴⁸ T.S.Eliot, 'After Strange Gods' (London: 1934), in Graham Clarke, ed., *Thomas Hardy: Critical Assessments*, Vol.III (Sussex: Helm Information Ltd., 1993), p. 239.

⁴⁹ F.R.Leavis, *New Bearings in English Poetry* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1950), pp. 47-8.

⁵⁰ Tom Paulin, *Thomas Hardy: The Poetry of Perception* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1986), p. 3. Hereafter cited as *Poetry of Perception*.

⁵¹ *Poetry of Perception*, p. 3.

northern rather than Romance languages, and ‘rooted in an oral culture’. A significant component of this oral culture was the anonymously written ballads, passed down through generations, a tradition which ‘has been pushed to one side or patronised as quaint and faintly comic’.⁵² Hardy, growing up in a rural community with a strong oral culture experienced the tension between this ‘provincial oral culture of song, talk, legend, and a metropolitan culture of print, political power and [...] Standard English’.⁵³ In Chapter two I have discussed the way in which written language is used as a tool for transmitting accepted knowledge and received cultural values, and how in ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ Hardy regrets the passing of ‘unwritten’ Wessex English that was transmitted through stories, poems and songs. To the visitor from London the lack of a written language indicated an ‘uncivilised’ society; similarly the Celtic oral tradition was regarded with disdain by the colonising Romans who considered the introduction of the Latin language of prime importance in establishing control over the native Britons.⁵⁴ Paulin’s reference to Hardy’s exploration of ‘the conflict between language as Being and language as instrument’,⁵⁵ encapsulates perfectly the tension between the community based oral tradition and the progressive, individualistic culture based on the written word.

In questioning ‘the hegemony of canonical texts’ and ‘high cultural poetry’, Paulin cites some critics who ‘argue that the canon of English Literature is an oppressive instrument shaped by a literary establishment concerned to safeguard its class interests by promoting the bogus idea of a national culture’, and that ‘Hardy

⁵² *Poetry of Perception*, p. 4.

⁵³ *Poetry of Perception*, p. 6.

⁵⁴ See also Claude Lévi-Strauss’s comment that ‘the primary function of writing, as a mode of communication, is to facilitate the enslavement of other human beings’. Lévi-Strauss, “On Writing”, in *Tristes Tropiques* [1955] (New York: Atheneum, 1964), 292.

⁵⁵ *Poetry of Perception*, p. 7.

belongs outside this institutional, official reality'.⁵⁶ It must be remembered, however, as previously discussed, that Hardy's novels were actually used by the establishment to promote this bogus national culture. It is also important to realise that since Paulin was writing in 1986, the advent of postmodernist, feminist and postcolonial theory has led to the questioning of the validity of a canon of English Literature.⁵⁷

Fran Brearton suggests that F.R. Leavis failed to understand that Hardy 'was the master of the art that conceals art', that his poetry was formed 'on the rhythms of nature'⁵⁸ and was indeed not part of 'the great tradition', a tradition being kept alive by poets such as Eliot and Pound. The position of Yeats in this discussion is somewhat ambiguous. Brearton considers that Phillip Larkin transferred his allegiance from Yeats to Hardy because he saw Hardy as standing 'for England against Ireland and Yeats and America and Ezra Pound'. Brearton believes this to be a dishonest position and cites Denis Donoghue's judgement that Yeats is far closer to Hardy than to Eliot or Pound. This closeness is significantly related to the oral tradition based on folk tales and ballads, as described by Paulin. Brearton considers that the need to retain these traditional forms has brought later twentieth century Irish poets like Seamus Heaney to a new appreciation of Hardy's works. Both Hardy and the Irish poets were writing from the margins against the centre, Hardy giving voice to the rural communities in England who were being 'colonised' in a similar, although admittedly less violent, manner to the rural communities in Ireland.

Edward Said describes how 'an amazingly persistent cultural attitude existed towards Ireland as a place whose inhabitants were a barbarian and degenerate

⁵⁶ *Poetry of Perception*, p. 5.

⁵⁷ See Suman Gupta, *Social Constructionist Identity Politics and Literary Studies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), for an analysis of the developments in Theory since the mid-1980s and the emergence of social constructionist identity politics as the 'institutional organizing principle of literary studies'. (p. 101). Hereafter cited as Gupta (2007).

⁵⁸ See footnote 47, p. 231.

race',⁵⁹ and as I have discussed in Chapter four, a similar attitude was adopted towards the rural population of England, as demonstrated by Hardy in his description of 'Hodge' in 'The Dorsetshire Labourer': 'Hodge is a degraded being of uncouth manner and aspect, stolid understanding and snail-like movement. His speech is a chaotic corruption of regular language.'⁶⁰ Denis Donoghue points out that this attitude was shared by T.S.Eliot who considered Yeats to be 'exotically peripheral' and that as an Irishman he was 'deprived of certain attributes of sensibility, notably of wit'.⁶¹ With regard to the quality of wit, in the sense of reason or 'cleverness', Eliot declares that 'Mr Hardy is without it and Mr Yeats is outside of the tradition altogether'.⁶² Eliot obviously considers himself to be central to 'the tradition', and peripheral writers like Hardy and Yeats to be outside it.

Said describes Yeats as a great 'national' poet who 'articulates the experiences, the aspirations, and the restorative vision of a people suffering under the dominion of an offshore power'.⁶³ Like Hardy he speaks for the people against the power of the metropolis, but also like Hardy he associates with those who exert this power in the metropolis. According to Said: 'For Yeats the overlapping he knew existed of his Irish Nationalism with the English cultural heritage, which both dominated and empowered him, was bound to cause tension',⁶⁴ and this same tension is found in Hardy as he leads his 'double life' between rural Dorset and London.

In this study I have explored in detail the relationship between Thomas Hardy, Empire and colonialism. I have shown how writers such as Raymond Williams,

⁵⁹ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p. 266. Hereafter cited as *Culture and Imperialism*.

⁶⁰ Thomas Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer' in Harold Orel, ed., *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 168.

⁶¹ Denis Donoghue, 'Three Presences', in *Dublin Review of Books*, Issue No.10, Summer 2009. This essay is the text of a lecture Denis Donoghue delivered at The Yeats International Summer School on July 28th 2009 in Sligo.

⁶² T.S.Eliot, *Selected Essays* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), p. 252.

⁶³ *Culture and Imperialism*, pp. 265-6.

⁶⁴ *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 274.

Daniel Bivona and Edward Said suggest that a direct relationship exists between processes occurring in rural England as described by Hardy, and processes occurring in the colonies of the Empire in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The economic and political power behind these processes has been identified and described by historians such as Cain and Hopkins, and Linda Colley. Hardy's direct interest in Empire is linked with his ideas on historical progress and his reading of Hegel, and his many references to the Roman Empire and the Emperor Napoleon reveal much about his own attitudes to Empire which are revealed in his personal writings and letters.

Ideas of the primitive and civilised are fundamental to the colonial enterprise, and these are central themes in Hardy's work, questioning prevailing assumptions about the 'primitive, pagan savage' and 'civilised, Christian European'.

In considering race, class and gender as linked categories when examining the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised I realise that I am entering an area around which there is much controversy, and this has been discussed in some detail in the Introduction to this study and in Chapter five. There is currently considerable debate amongst theorists in various disciplines, on the question of whether group identities such as race, class and gender are embodied or socially constructed. Many, although not all, would agree that class divisions are socially constructed, but there is less consensus in the case of race and gender.⁶⁵ Most anthropologists and human geneticists now agree that there is no biogenetic reason for defining racial difference, and that race is in fact a social construct. Physical sexual differences are obvious, but as with differences in skin colour these are not sufficient in themselves to classify people into groups with 'essential features that

⁶⁵ See Eagleton, *The Illusions of Postmodernism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) pp. 57-8, for his argument that unlike class; race and gender are not wholly socially constructed categories.

characterise every member of each of these groups'.⁶⁶ Such features can be used to reinforce differences which those in power can use to oppress all members of a particular group. I have discussed in Chapter five how native inhabitants of the colonies were regarded by the colonisers as child-like, sexualised and servile, and how in the portrayal of characters like Tess, Hardy shows that the same characteristics were used by men to categorise and dominate women. Anne McClintock argues that 'race, gender and class are not distinct realms of experience', but in each case are used to reinforce the economic and political power of the ruling minority.⁶⁷ Homi Bhabha's assertion that the use of the terms race and gender involves 'an articulation of forms of difference' essential to the maintenance of a powerful political élite, is supported by Judith Butler when she says that identities are produced under 'conditions of domination'.⁶⁸ In his novels, poems and personal writings Thomas Hardy challenges this domination and speaks for all those who exist on the margins of established society.

I began this study by discussing the debate occurring amongst various theorists, on the extent to which imperialism impacted on British culture and society. Benita Parry, Catherine Hall, Andrew Thompson and Anne McClintock are some of those who consider that the British Empire was closely intertwined with domestic British society and culture. In the late nineteen eighties, Patrick Brantlinger and Daniel Bivona discussed the relationship between imperialism and Victorian Literature, but were mainly concerned with writers such as Kipling, Haggard, Marryat and Conrad who dealt directly with empire in their novels. An exception to

⁶⁶ Gupta (2007), p. 23. Gupta here gives a detailed analysis of the debate between the essentialist and social constructionist positions.

⁶⁷ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 5.

⁶⁸ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, p. 96; Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1990), p. 206.

this is Bivona's analysis of Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*, and his argument that this is a novel about internal colonisation, the colonisation of the rural working-class, and 'of two individuals by an alien yet monolithic system of social rules'.⁶⁹

In his article 'Hardy and Englishness' (2004), James Whitehead discusses Hardy's criticism of empire in relation to *The Dynasts* and the Boer War poems,⁷⁰ but there has so far been no detailed analysis of Hardy's writings in relation to empire. As previously discussed, Hardy was writing at the height of imperial expansion, and if empire was indeed an integral part of British society, then his works should provide evidence for this. In this study, I have shown that a close examination of Hardy's work reveals, not only his own response to empire, but also the extent to which, as a result of its social, cultural and political history, imperial ideology was firmly embedded in the Britain of Hardy's novels.

⁶⁹ Daniel Bivona, *Desire and Contradiction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990) p. 95.

⁷⁰ See discussion on p. 69, Chapter 2, of this study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Desperate Remedies*, 1871 (London: Penguin Books, 1998)
- The Dorsetshire Labourer*, 1883, in Harold Orel, ed., *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings* (London: Macmillan, 1967)
- The Dynasts; Parts 1,2,3*, 1904-8 (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd. 1958)
- Far from the Madding Crowd*, 1874 (London: Penguin Books, 1978)
- The Hand of Ethelberta*, 1876 (London: Penguin Books, 1997)
- Jude the Obscure*, 1895 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- A Laodicean*, 1881 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991)
- Life's Little Ironies*, 1894 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- The Mayor of Casterbridge*, 1886 (London: Penguin Books, 1985)
- A Pair of Blue Eyes*, 1873 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- The Return of the Native*, 1878 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- The Return of the Native*, 1878, ed., Phillip Mallet (New York: W.W.Norton and Company Ltd., 2006)
- Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, 1891 (London: Penguin Books, 1978)
- The Trumpet Major*, 1880 (London: Macmillan London Ltd., 1974)
- Two on a Tower*, 1882 (London: Macmillan London Ltd., 1986)
- Under the Greenwood Tree*, 1872 (London: Penguin Books, 1978)
- The Well-Beloved*, 1897 (Ware: Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 2000)
- Wessex Tales*, 1888 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- The Woodlanders*, 1887 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- Björk, L.A., ed., *The Literary Notebooks of Thomas Hardy* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1988)

Dalziel, P. and Millgate, M., eds., *Thomas Hardy's 'Poetical Matter' Notebook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Dalziel P. and Millgate, M., eds., *Thomas Hardy's 'Studies, Specimens etc.' Notebook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994)

Gibson, James, ed., *The Complete Poems of Thomas Hardy* (London: Macmillan London Ltd., 1976)

Gibson, James, ed., *Thomas Hardy: Interviews and Recollections* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999)

Greenslade, William, ed., *Thomas Hardy's 'Facts' Notebook* (Ashgate, 2004)

Hardy, Evelyn and Pinion, F.B., eds., *One Rare Fair Woman; Thomas Hardy's Letters to Florence Henniker, 1893-1922* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1972)

Hardy, F.E., *The Life of Thomas Hardy 1840-1928* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1962)

Millgate, M., ed., *Letters of Emma and Florence Hardy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

Millgate, M., ed., *Thomas Hardy's Public Voice: The Essays, Speeches, and Miscellaneous Prose* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001)

Orel, H., ed., *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings* (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd., 1967)

Purdy, R.L. and Millgate, M., eds., *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy, Vols. 1-7* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978- 88)

Ray, Martin, ed., *Thomas Hardy Remembered* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007)

Taylor, R.H., ed., *The Personal Notebooks of Thomas Hardy* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1979)

The English Review Vol.1, December 1908 to March 1909 (New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1967)

Secondary Sources

Articles

Armstrong, Isobel, 'The microscope: mediations of the sub-visible world', in *Transactions and encounters: Science and culture in the nineteenth century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 30-54

Beer, Gillian, 'Can the Native Return?', in *Open Fields: Science in Cultural Encounter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 31-54, in *Thomas Hardy, The Return of the Native* (New York: W.W.Norton and Company, Inc., 2006), pp. 504-524

Bhabha, Homi K., 'Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817', in *"Race," Writing and Difference* ed., Henry Louis Gates, Jr., (University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 163-184

Burton, Antoinette, 'Rules of Thumb: British history and 'imperial culture' in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain', in *Women's History Review*, Volume 3, Number 4, 1994, 483-501

Cain, P.J. and Hopkins, A.G., 'The Political Economy of British Expansion Overseas, 1750-1914', in *The Economic History Review*, 2nd.ser., Vol.33, No.4 (Nov. 1980), 463-490

Cain, P.J. and Hopkins, A.G., 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas I: The Old Colonial System, 1688-1850', in *The Economic History Review*, 2nd.ser., Vol. 39, No.4 (Nov.1986), 501-525

Cain, P.J. and Hopkins, A.G., 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas II: New Imperialism, 1850-1945', in *The Economic History Review*, 2nd.ser., Vol.40, No.1 (Feb. 1987), 1-26

Cannadine, David, 'The Empire Strikes Back', in *Past and Present*, 147 (1995), 194

Chrisman, Laura, 'The Imperial Unconscious? Representations of Imperial Discourse', in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (Pearson education Ltd., 1994), pp. 498- 516

Ciolkowski, Laura E., 'Navigating the *Wide Sargasso Sea*: Colonial History, English Fiction, and British Empire', in *Twentieth Century Literature*, Fall 97, Vol. 43 Issue 3, 339

Clifford, Emma, "'War and Peace" and "The Dynasts"', in *Modern Philology*, Vol.54 No. 1 (Aug.1956), 33-44

Clifford, Emma, 'The "Trumpet Major Notebook" and *The Dynasts*', in *The Review of English Studies*, New Series Vol.8, No.30 (May 1957), 149-161

Clifford, Emma, 'Thomas Hardy and the Historians', in *Studies in Philology*, 56 (1959), 654

Crangle, Sara, 'Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*', in *Explicator* Fall 2001, Vol.60 Issue1, 24

Deslandes, Paul R., "'The Foreign Element': Newcomers and the Rhetoric of Race, Nation, and Empire in 'Oxbridge' Undergraduate Culture, 1850-1920' in *Journal of British Studies*; Jan.1998, Vol.37 Issue 1, 54

DeWitt, Anne, ' "The Actual Sky is a Horror": Thomas Hardy and the Arnoldian Conception of Science', in *Nineteenth Century Literature*, March 2007, Vol.61, No.4, 479-506

Escuret, Annie, 'Thomas Hardy and J.M.W.Turner', in Lance St. John Butler, ed., *Alternative Hardy* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1989), p.205

Faubert, Michelle, 'Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*', in *Explicator* Winter 2002, Vol.60 Issue 2, 76

Forward, S., 'Michael Henchard:a tragic hero',in *English Review*; 8(1) Sep.97, 20-2

Gilman, Sander L., 'Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature', in Henry Louis Gates, ed., *"Race," Writing and Difference* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 223-261

Greenslade, William, 'Rosemarie Morgan, "Thomas Hardy": A Rejoinder', in *Victorian Poetry* 43.3 (2005), 399-402

De Groot, Joanna, " 'Sex' and 'race': the construction of language and image in the nineteenth century", in *Cultures of Empire*, ed. Catherine Hall (Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 37-60

Gussow, Adam, 'Dreaming Holmberry-Lipped Tess: Aboriginal Reverie and Spectatorial Desire in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*', in *Studies in the Novel*, Winter 2000, Vol. 32, Issue 4, 442-463

Hampson, Robert, 'Conrad and the Idea of Empire', in Gail Fincham and Myrtle Hooper, eds., *Under Post-Colonial Eyes: Joseph Conrad After Empire* (Rondebosch: University of Cape Town Press,1996), pp. 65-77

Haslam, Sara, 'Wessex, Literary Pilgrims and Thomas Hardy' in Nicola Watson, ed., *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (London: Palgrave, 2009), pp. 164-171

Holste, Gayle, 'Hardy's Christmas in the Elgin Room', in *Explicator* Summer 2001, Vol.59, Issue 4, 187

Hutton, Will, 'Empire on which the sun should finally set', in *The Guardian* (London) June 7, 1993

Jackson, Rena, 'Hybridity and Migrancy in *Jude the Obscure*: A Postcolonial Reading of Father Time', in *The Thomas Hardy Journal*, Vol.XXV, Autumn 2009, 106-126

Kelley, Theresa M., 'J.M.W. Turner, Napoleonic Caricature and Romantic Allegory', in *ELH*: Vol.58, No. 2 (Summer, 1991), 351-382

Knox, Robert, 'The Races of Men: A Philosophical Enquiry into the Influence of Race over the Destinies of Nations' (1850), in Augstein, Hannah F., ed., *Race: The Origins of an Idea, 1760-1850* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1996), pp. 240-260

Lavrin, Janko, 'A Note on Nietzsche and Dostoevsky', in *Russian Review*, Vol. 28, No.2 (Apr.,1969), 160-170

Mallozzi, Ilaria, 'Darwin, Hardy, and Bergson – A Glimpse of Continuity?', in *The Hardy Review*, Vol.XI, Number 2, Autumn 2009, 133-140

McGuinness, P., 'Enlarging Insularity', in *London Review of Books* , 22(2) 20 Jan. 2000, 38-9

McIntire, Gabrielle, 'The Women Do Not Travel: Gender, Difference, and Incommensurability in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*', in *Modern Fiction Studies* 48.2 (2002), 257-284

Morgan, Rosemarie, 'Thomas Hardy', in *Victorian Poetry* 41.3 (2003), 402-12

Morgan, Rosemarie, 'Thomas Hardy', in *Victorian Poetry* 42.3 (2004), 369-381

Morgan, Rosemarie, 'Thomas Hardy', in *Victorian Poetry* 43.3 (2005), 352-359

Morgan, Rosemarie, 'Rosemarie Morgan replies', in *Victorian Poetry* 43.3 (2005), 403-407

Morgan, Rosemarie, 'Conflicting Courses in *The Return of the Native*', in *Thomas Hardy, The Return of the Native* (New York: W.W.Norton and Company, Inc., 2006), pp. 474-489

Neilson, Brett, 'Hardy, Barbarism and the Transformations of Modernity', in *Thomas Hardy and Contemporary Literary Studies* eds., Tim Dolin and Peter Widdowson (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., 2004), pp.65-79

Neilson, Brett, 'Barbarism/modernity: notes on barbarism', in *Textual Practice* 13(1), 1999, 79-95

O'Connor, Erin, 'Preface for a Post-Postcolonial Criticism', in *Victorian Studies*,45, Winter 2003, 217-246

O'Hara, Patricia, 'Narrating the native: Victorian anthropology and Hardy's *The Return of the Native*', in *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*; 20(2) 1997, 147-63

Olsen, William C., "'Children for Death': Money, Wealth, and Witchcraft Suspicion in Colonial Asante", in *Cahiers d'Etudes africaines*, 167, XLII-3, 2002, 521-550

Parry, Benita, 'Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse', in *Oxford Literary Review* 9 (1987), 27-58

Paterson, John, 'The Return of the Native as Anti-Christian Document', in 'Nineteenth-Century Fiction' 14.2 (1959): 11-27, in *Thomas Hardy, The Return of the Native* (New York: W.W.Norton and Company, Inc., 2006), pp. 439-454

Persoon, James, 'Hardy's *The Impercipient*', in *Explicator*, Winter 2003, Vol.61, Issue 2, 92

Porter, Bernard, *Empire? What Empire? Imperialism and British national identity c. 1815-1914* (Technical Report NEC Paper no.46, National Europe Centre, ANU, 2002)

Porter, Bernard, "'Empire, What Empire?" Or, Why 80% of Early- and Mid-Victorians Were Deliberately Kept in Ignorance of It', in *Victorian Studies* 1 August 2004, vol. 46, no.2, 256-263

Radford, Andrew, 'A 'survival' explained in Hardy's *The Well-Beloved*', in *Notes and Queries*; 46(4) Dec.1999, 480-1

Radford, Andrew, 'Hardy's *The Woodlanders*', in *Explicator* Spring 2000, Vol.58 Issue 3, 146

Radford, Andrew, 'J.G.Frazer and a strange harvest custom in Hardy's *Tess*', in *Notes and Queries*; 48(2) Jun 2001, 164-5

Radford, Andrew, 'Provincial voices. Review article', in *Cambridge Quarterly*; 31(4) 2002, 357-60

Radford, Andrew, 'Hardy's *The Return of the Native*', in *Explicator*, Fall 2004, Vol.63, Issue 1, 26

Radford, Andrew, 'Excavating an Empire of Dust in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, in *The Thomas Hardy Journal*, Vol.XXV, Autumn 2009, 48-68

Ray, Martin, 'Hardy's *The Sick Battle-God* and Scott's *Ivanhoe*', in *Notes and Queries*; Mar.2002, Vol.49 Issue 1, 76

Ray, Martin, 'Hardy's *Drummer Hodge* and *The Dead Drummer*', in *Notes and Queries*; Dec.2002, Vol. 49 Issue 4, 492

Ray, Martin, 'Hardy and Conrad', in *The Thomas Hardy Journal*, May 1996, Vol. XII, No.2, 82-83

Reid, Fred, 'Wayfarers and Seafarers, Ideas of History in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*', in *The Thomas Hardy Journal*, October 1997, Vol.XIII, No.3, 47-57

Richardson, Angelique, 'Hardy and Biology', in Phillip Mallett, ed., *Thomas Hardy: Texts and Contexts* (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., 2002), pp. 156-179

Rogers, S.L., 'The historian of Wessex: Thomas Hardy's contribution to history', in *Rethinking History*; 5(2) Summer 2001, 217-32

Shumaker, Jeanette Roberts, 'Abjection and Degeneration in Thomas Hardy's "Barbara of the House of Grebe"', in *College Literature* 26.2 (Spring 1999), 1-17

Spivak, Gayatri C., 'Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism', in "*Race, Writing and Difference*", ed. Henry Louis Gates. Jr., (The University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 262-80

Spivak, Gayatri C., 'Can the Subaltern Speak', in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg. eds., 'Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture' (Macmillan Education: Basingstoke, 1988), 271-313, in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (Pearson Education Ltd., 1994), pp. 66-111

Stepan, Nancy Leys, 'Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science', in *Isis*, Vol.77, No.2 (June, 1986), 261-277

Stock, Paul, 'Imposing on Napoleon: The Romantic appropriation of Bonaparte', in *Journal of European Studies* Vol.36, No.4 (2006)

Tandon, Bharat, 'The fossil in the cliff: how Thomas Hardy took a microscope to the tiniest clues of life', in *Times Literary Supplement* (5253) 5 Dec.2003, 3-4

Tandon, Bharat, "'...Among the Ruins": Narrative Archaeology in the *Mayor of Casterbridge*', in *Studies in the Novel*, Winter 2003, Vol.35 Issue 4, 471

Thompson, J.B., 'Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge*', in *Explicator* Winter 2001, Vol.59 Issue 2, 83

Vance, N., 'Secular apocalyptic and Thomas Hardy', in *History of European Ideas*; 26(3-4) 2000, 201-10

Virey, Julien-Joseph, 'Natural history of the Negro Species Particularly', (1835) in Augstein, Hannah F., ed., *Race: The Origins of an Idea, 1760-1850* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1996), pp.163-180

Whitehead, James S., 'Hardy and Englishness', in *Thomas Hardy Studies*, ed. Phillip Mallett (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 203-228

Whitehead, James, 'Thomas Hardy and the First World War', in *The Thomas Hardy Journal*, October 1999, Vol.XV No.3, 85-98

Whitehead, James, 'Thomas Hardy and the South African War', in *The Hardy Review*, July 1998, Vol.1 No.1, 133

Wickramagamage, Carmen, 'An/other Side to Antoinette/Bertha: Reading "Race" into Wide Sargasso Sea', in *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 2000; 35; 27

Wilson, Keith, "'We Thank You...Most of all Perhaps, for *The Dynasts*": Hardy's Epic Drama Re-evaluated', in *The Thomas Hardy Journal*, Autumn 2006, Vol.XXII, 235-254

Books

Achebe, Chinua, *Things Fall Apart* [1958] (London: Penguin Books, 2006)

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities* (London:Verso, 1991)

Ashcroft, Bill, Griffiths, Gareth and Tiffin, Helen, eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1995)

Bailey, J.O., *The Poetry of Thomas Hardy* (The University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, 1970)

Bainbridge, Simon, *Napoleon and English Romanticism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Bayly, C.A., *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004)

Beer, Gillian, *Darwin's Plots* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Beer, Gillian, *Darwin's Plots* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Bivona, Daniel, *Desire and Contradiction; Imperial visions and domestic debates in Victorian literature* (Manchester University Press, 1990)

Boehmer, Elleke, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)

Boumelha, Penny, ed., *New Casebooks: Jude the Obscure, Thomas Hardy: Contemporary Critical Essays* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000)

Bowie, Malcolm, *Lacan* (London: Fontana Press, 1991)

Bowler, Peter J., *Evolution: The History of an Idea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003)

Brantlinger, Patrick, *Rule of Darkness; British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988)

- Brontë, Charlotte, *Jane Eyre* [1847] (Ware: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1999)
- Brontë, Charlotte, *Jane Eyre* [1847] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- Butler, Lance St. John, ed., *Alternative Hardy* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1989)
- Butler, Judith, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1990)
- Cain, P.J. and Hopkins, A.G., *British Imperialism 1688-2000* [1993] (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2002)
- Carpenter, Edward, *The Intermediate Sex* [1908] (Teddington: The Echo Library, 2007)
- Charteris, Evan, *The Life and Letters of Sir Edmund Gosse* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1931)
- Childs, Peter, and Williams, Patrick, *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 1997)
- Clarke, Graham, ed., *Thomas Hardy: Critical Assessments* Vols. 1-4 (East Sussex: Helm Information Ltd., 1993)
- Colley, Linda, *Britons Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 2003)
- Colley, Linda, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World 1600-1850* (London: Pimlico, 2003)
- Conrad, Joseph, *Heart of Darkness* [1902] (London: Penguin Books, 1973)
- Conrad, Joseph, *Lord Jim* [1900] (Ware: Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 1993)
- Cox, R.G., ed., *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970)
- Darwin, Charles, *The Origin of Species* [1859] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952)
- Darwin, Charles, *The Descent of Man* [1871] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952)
- Davie, Donald, *With the Grain: Essays on Thomas Hardy and Modern British Poetry* (Manchester: Carcanet Press Limited, 1998)
- Dean, Susan, *Hardy's Poetic Vision in The Dynasts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1977)

- Devereux, Joanna, *Patriarchy and Its Discontents: Sexual Politics in selected Novels and Stories of Thomas Hardy* (London: Routledge, 2003)
- Dolin, Tim and Widdowson, Peter, eds., *Thomas Hardy and Contemporary literary Studies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., 2004)
- Dostoyevsky, Fyodor, *Crime and Punishment* [1866] (London: Penguin Books, 1997)
- Dowling, Linda, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986)
- Draper, R.P. and Ray, Martin, *An Annotated Critical Bibliography of Thomas Hardy* (Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989)
- Dumett, Raymond E. ed., *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Imperialism: The New Debate on Empire* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1999)
- Eagleton, Terry, *Criticism and Ideology* (London: Verso, 1978)
- Eagleton, Terry, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996)
- Eagleton, Terry, *The Illusions of Postmodernism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996)
- Ebbatson, Roger, *Hardy: The Margin of the Unexpressed* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993)
- Ebbatson, Roger, *An Imaginary England: nation, landscape and literature, 1840-1920* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005)
- Eliot, George, *Daniel Deronda* [1876] (Ware: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2003)
- Faulkner, Neil, *The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2000)
- Floud, Roderick and McCloskey, Deirdre, eds., *The Economic History of Britain since 1700 : Vol. 1: 1700-1860*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- Foucault, Michel, *Society Must Be Defended, Lectures at the College de France 1975-76*, trans. David Macey (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2003)
- Foucault, Michel, *Power/Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980)
- Foucault, Michel, *The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1* [1976] (London: Penguin Books, 1998)
- Frazer, J.G., *The Golden Bough, A Study in Magic and Religion* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1924)

- Garson, Marjorie, *Hardy's Fables of Integrity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991)
- Gates, David, *The Napoleonic Wars 1803-1815* (London: Pimlico, 2003)
- Gates, Henry, Louis, Jr., *"Race," Writing, and Difference* (London: The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., 1986)
- Gerber and Davis, eds., *Thomas Hardy: An Annotated Bibliography of Writings About Him* (Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1973)
- Gibson, James, *Thomas Hardy: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1996)
- Gilbert, Sandra M., and Gubar, Susan, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000)
- Gilmour, Robin, *The Victorian Period: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1830-1890* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1993)
- Gissing, George, *The Odd Women* [1893], (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- Gittings, Robert, *Young Thomas Hardy* (London: Heinemann, 1975)
- Gittings, Robert, *The Older Hardy* (London: Heinemann, 1978)
- Goode, John, *Thomas Hardy: The Offensive Truth* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1988)
- Gossin, Pamela, *Thomas Hardy's Novel Universe: Astronomy, Cosmology and Gender in the Post-Darwinian World* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007)
- Gould, Stephen Jay, *The Panda's Thumb* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1980)
- Gould, Stephen Jay, *The Mismeasure of Man* [1981] (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1992)
- Gregor, Ian, *The Great Web: The Form of Hardy's Major Fiction* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1974)
- Gupta, Suman, *Social Constructionist Identity Politics and Literary Studies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)
- Hall, Catherine and Rose, Sonya O., eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Hall, Catherine, *Civilising Subjects; Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2002)

- Hall, Catherine, ed., *Cultures of Empire* (Manchester University Press, 2000)
- Hamilton, James, *Turner: A Life* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1997)
- Harvey, G., *The Complete Critical Guide to Thomas Hardy* (London: Routledge, 2003)
- Herman, Arthur, *The Scottish Enlightenment* (London: Fourth Estate, 2001)
- Hewitt, Douglas, *English Fiction of the Early Modern Period, 1890-1940* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 1988)
- Higonnet, Margaret R., ed., *The Sense of Sex: Feminist Perspectives on Hardy* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993)
- Hobsbawm, Eric, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914* [1987] (London: Abacus, 1994)
- Hobsbawm, Eric, *The Age of Capital 1848 – 1875* [1962] (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995)
- Hobsbawm, Eric, *Industry and Empire* [1968] (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1969)
- Ingham, Patricia, *Thomas Hardy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
- Jameson, Frederic, *The Political Unconscious; Narrative as a socially symbolic act* (London: Routledge, 1983)
- Johnson, Lionel, *The Art of Thomas Hardy* [1894] (London: John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd., 1923)
- Johnson, Paul, *Napoleon* (London: Phoenix, 2003)
- King, Anthony D., *Global Cities: Post-Imperialism and the Internationalization of London* (London: Routledge, 1990)
- Landry, Donna and Maclean, Gerald, eds., *The Spivak Reader* (London: Routledge, 1996)
- Larrissy, Edward, ed., *W.B. Yeats: The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Leach, Edmund, *Lévi- Strauss* (London: Fontana/Collins, 1970)
- Leavis, F.R., *New Bearings in English Poetry* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1963)
- Lenin, V.I., *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* [1939] (New York: International Publishers, 2004)

Lewis, Reina and Mills, Sara, eds., *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2003)

Levine, George, *Darwin and the Novelists* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988)

Lindsay, Jack, *Turner: The Man and his Art* (London: Granada Publishing Ltd., 1985)

Loomba, Ania, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998)

Luckhurst, Roger and McDonagh, Josephine, eds., *Transactions and Encounters: Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002)

Mackenzie, John M., *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984)

Mallett, Phillip, ed., *Thomas Hardy Studies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)

Mallett, Phillip, ed., *Thomas Hardy: Texts and Contexts* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002)

Mallett, Phillip and Draper, Ronald P., *A Spacious Vision* (Newmill: The Patten Press, 1994)

McClintock, Anne; Mufti, Aamir and Sholat, Ella, eds., *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1997)

McGann, Jerome J. ed., *Byron* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986)

McLaren, Margaret A., *Feminism, Foucault, and Embodied Subjectivity* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002)

McLaughlin, Joseph, *Writing the Urban Jungle: Reading Empire in London from Doyle to Eliot* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000)

McLynn, Frank, *Napoleon: A Biography* (London: Pimlico, 1998)

Mendus, Susan and Rendall, Jane, eds., *Sexuality and Subordination* (London, Routledge, 1989)

Midgley, Clare, *Feminism and Empire: Women Activists in Imperial Britain, 1790-1865* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007)

Mill, John Stuart, *The Subjection of Women* [1869] (London: Virago Press Limited, 1983)

Miller, J.Hillis, *Fiction and Repetition* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982)

Millgate, Michael, *Thomas Hardy: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985)

Millgate, Michael, *Thomas Hardy: A Biography Revisited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Mills, Sara, *Michel Foucault* (London: Routledge, 2003)

Moi, Toril, *Sexual/Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory* (London: Routledge, 1985)

Moore, Grace, *Dickens and Empire: Discourses of Class, Race and Colonialism in the Works of Charles Dickens* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004)

Moses, Michael, Valdez, *The Novel and the Globalization of Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)

Neill, Edward, *The Secret Life of Thomas Hardy* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004)

Niemeyer, Paul J., *Seeing Hardy: Film and Television Adaptations of the Fiction of Thomas Hardy* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, Inc., 2003)

Nietzsche, Friedrich, *The Genealogy of Morals* [1913] (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 2003)

Orel, Harold, *Thomas Hardy's Epic-Drama: A Study of the Dynasts* (Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1963)

Page, N., ed., *Oxford Reader's Companion to Hardy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Parry, Benita, *Postcolonial Studies, A Materialist Critique* (London: Routledge, 2004)

Paulin, Tom, *Thomas Hardy: The Poetry of Perception* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1986)

Pettit, Charles P.C., ed., *Reading Thomas Hardy* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998)

Pinion, F.B., *A Commentary on the Poems of Thomas Hardy* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1976)

Pite, Ralph, *Thomas Hardy: The Guarded Life* (London: Picador, 2006)

- Plasa, Carl, *Textual Politics from Slavery to Postcolonialism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000)
- Poole, Adrian, *Gissing in Context* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1975)
- Porter, Bernard, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists; Empire, Society and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- Purdy, Richard L., Charles P.C.Pettit, ed., *Thomas Hardy: A Bibliographical Study* (London: The British Library, Oak Knoll Press, 2002)
- Radford, Andrew, *Thomas Hardy and the Survivals of Time* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2003)
- Reid, Fred, *In Search of Willie Patterson; A Scottish Soldier in the Age of Imperialism* (Dunfermline: Cualann Press, 2002)
- Reiman, Donald H. and Powers, Sharon B., eds., *Shelley's Poetry and Prose* (New York: W.W.Norton and Company, 1977)
- Rhys, Jean, *Wide Sargasso Sea* [1966] (London: Penguin Books, 1968)
- Said, Edward, *Orientalism* [1978] (London: Penguin Books, 1995)
- Said, Edward, *Culture and Imperialism* [1993] (London: Vintage, 1994)
- Samson, Jane, ed., *The British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- Schopenhauer, Arthur, *On Human Nature*, 1897 (New York: Cosimo Inc., 2007)
- Sellers, Susan, ed., *The Hélène Cixous Reader* (London: Routledge, 1994)
- Seymour-Smith, Martin, *Hardy* (London: Bloomsbury, 1994)
- Sharpe, Jenny, *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1993)
- Smiles, Sam, *J.M.W. Turner* (London: Tate Publishing, 2000)
- Southerington, F.R., *Hardy's Vision of Man* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1971)
- Sprinker, Michael, ed., *Edward Said: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992)
- Stave, Shirley A., *The Decline of the Goddess: Nature, Culture and Women in Thomas Hardy's Fiction* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995)
- Steel, Gayla R., *Sexual Tyranny in Wessex: Hardy's Witches and Demons of Folklore* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1993)

Stoler, Ann Laura, *Race and the Education of Desire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995)

Stoler, Ann Laura, *Along the archival grain: epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009)

Sumner, Rosemary, *Thomas Hardy; Psychological Novelist* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981)

Thompson, Andrew, *The Empire Strikes Back: The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005)

Thompson, E.P., *The Romantics: England in a Revolutionary Age* (Woodbridge: The Merlin Press, 1997)

Tolstoy, L.N., *War and Peace* [1869], trans. Rosemary Edmonds (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1957)

Tolstoi, Count L.N., *War and Peace*, trans., Nathan Haskell Dole (London: Walter Scott, Paternoster Row) no date

Tomalin, Claire, *Thomas Hardy: The Time-Torn Man* (London: Viking, 2006)

Tudge, Colin, *Neanderthals, Bandits and Farmers: How Agriculture Really Began* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998)

Tudor, H. and Tudor, J.M. eds., *Marxism and Social Democracy: The Revisionist Debate 1896 – 1898* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)

Turner, P., *The Life of Thomas Hardy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998)

Weber, C. and Weber, C.C., *Thomas Hardy's Correspondence at Max Gate: A Descriptive Checklist* (Waterville: Colby College Press, 1968)

White, R.J., *Thomas Hardy and History* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1974)

Wickens, G.Glen, *Thomas Hardy, Monism, and the Carnival Tradition: The One and Many in The Dynasts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002)

Widdowson, Peter, *Hardy in History; A Study in Literary Sociology* (London: Routledge, 1989)

Widdowson, Peter, *Thomas Hardy* (Plymouth: Northcote House Publishers Ltd., 1996)

Williams, Merryn, *Thomas Hardy and Rural England* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1972)

Williams, Patrick and Chrisman, Laura, eds., *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* [1993] (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 1994)

Williams, Raymond, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973)

Williams, Raymond, *Politics of Modernism*, 1989 (London: Verso, 2007)

Wilson, Keith, *A Companion to Thomas Hardy* (Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2009)

Wordsworth, Jonathan, Abrams, M.H., Gill, Stephen, *William Wordsworth: The Prelude* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1979)

Wotton, George, *Thomas Hardy: Towards a Materialist Criticism* (Ireland: Gill and Macmillan, 1985)

Wright, T.R., *Thomas Hardy on Screen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Wright, Walter F, *The Shaping of The Dynasts*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967)

Young, Robert J.C., *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995)

CD-ROMS and Websites

Haslam, Sara with Turton, Glyn, *The Poetry of Thomas Hardy*, CD-ROM (Chester College of Higher Education, 2001)

Ray, Martin, *Thomas Hardy: A Variorum Concordance to the 'Complete Poems'*, CD-ROM (The Thomas Hardy Association, 1998)

Hardy's Max Gate Library, Website compiled by Michael Millgate,
www.library.utoronto.ca/fisher/hardy

Dino Felluga, *Introductory Guide to Critical Theory*,
www.cla.purdue.edu/English/theory

Professor Paul Fry, *Introduction to Theory of Literature*: Transcript of Lectures 10,11, Deconstruction I, II.
<http://oyc.yale.edu/english/introduction-to-theory-of-literature>

Speeches of Abraham Lincoln: <http://bartleby.com/251>

George P. Landow on Ruskin: www.victorianweb.org/authors/ruskin/atheories

PhD Theses

Holroyd, J.A., 'Thomas Hardy's sense of history', M.Litt., Oxford, 1989

Lord, U., 'Fiction and civilisation 1885-1905: a study of the novels of Thomas Hardy and Joseph Conrad', PhD University College, Dublin, 1990

McGowan, M., 'The lost world of Thomas Hardy: an examination of the representation of foreign places in selected writings of Thomas Hardy' (BL: DXN065151) PhD Ulster, 1999

Purchase, S.K., 'Dickens's silent empire' (BL) PhD., Wales, Cardiff, 2000

Radford, A., 'The Discoveries of time in Thomas Hardy's Wessex novels' (BL) D.Phil., York, 1998

Sayed Ahmed, 'Images of alienation and isolation in Thomas Hardy's short fiction' (BL) PhD Wales, Bangor, 1999

Stenning, M.P., 'Thomas Hardy: the stranger in the landscape', PhD Sussex, 1989

Vile, M.A., 'Darwinism in Thomas Hardy's minor novels and his epic-drama The Dynasts', MA Kent, 1990

Whitehead, James, 'Thomas Hardy and the Poetry of Empire', July 1999